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BOSSUET

MASTERPIECES OF ELOQUENCE

FAMOUS ORATIONS OF GREAT WORLD LEADERS FROM EARLY GREECE TO THE PRESENT TIME

EDITED BY

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IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME IV

NEW YORK
P. F. COLLIER & SON

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CRANMER

THOMAS CRANMER, a distinguished leader of the English Reformation, was born at Aslecton, Nottinghamshire, July 2, 1489. He studied at Cambridge University and was made Fellow of Jesus College and one of the public examiners in theology there. Coming into favor with King Henry VIII, he was made archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, and was one of the king's supporters in the matter of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. In 1535 he, with other bishops, formally abjured allegiance to Rome, but he labored earnestly to prevent the condemnation of such men as More and Fisher, who would not acknowledge the royal supremacy. In 1540 the revised version of the Bible upon which the bishops had been engaged for five years was ordered to be set up in all the churches, and this presently came to be known as the Great, or Cranmer's Bible. Cranmer was at first disposed to favor the more conservative views of the Reformers, but events brought him more fully into line with them, until he was recognized by both sides as one of the leaders of the Reformation movement. On the accession of Mary he was charged with both treason and heresy and thrown into prison. While there he was induced to sign a recantation of his former opinions, but finally repudiated his recantation, declaring that the hand which had signed it should burn first when they brought him to the stake. He was hurried forth from St. Mary's Church, Oxford, where he had made this public statement, and burned to death on March 21, 1550.

FROM SERMON ON GOOD WORKS ANNEXED UNTO FAITH

IN the last sermon was declared unto you what the lively and true faith of a Christian man is; that it causeth not a man to be idle, but to be occupied in bringing forth good works, as occasion serveth.

Now, by God's grace, shall be declared the second thing that before was noted of faith, that without it can no good work be done acceptable and pleasant unto God. "For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself," saith Our Saviour, Christ, "except it abide in the vine, so cannot you except you abide in me. I am the vine, and you be the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit:

for without me you can do nothing." And St. Paul proveth that Enoch had faith, because he pleased God: "For without faith," saith he, "it is not possible to please God." And again, to the Romans he saith: "Whatsoever work is done without faith, it is sin." Faith giveth life to the soul; and they be as much dead to God that lack faith as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without faith all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before man. Even as a picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life or any manner of moving, so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God. They do appear to be lively works, and indeed they be but dead, not availing to the eternal life. They be but shadows and shows of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed; for true faith doth give life to the works, and out of such faith come good works, that be very good works indeed; and without it no work is good before God.

As saith St. Augustine: "We must set no good works before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do any good work; for such works, although they seem unto men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and not allowed before God. They be as the course of a horse that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labor, but to no purpose. Let no man, therefore," saith he, "reckon upon his good works before his faith; where, as faith was not, good works were not. The intent," saith he, "maketh the good works; but faith must guide and order the intent of man." And Christ saith: "If thine eye be naught, thy whole body is full of darkness." "The eye doth signify the intent," saith St. Augustine, "wherewith a man doth a thing; so that he which doth not his good works with a godly intent, and a true faith

that worketh by love, the whole body beside, that is to say, all the whole number of his works, is dark, and there is no light in it."

For good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so dissevered from vices, but by the ends and intents for the which they be done. If a heathen man clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works; yet because he doth them not in faith for the honor and love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him.

Faith it is that doth commend the work to God: "for," as St. Augustine saith, "whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of faith is naught;" where the faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work, what building soever we make. "There is one work, in the which be all good works, that is, faith which worketh by charity:" if thou have it, thou hast the ground of all good works; for the virtues of strength, wisdom, temperance, and justice be all referred unto this same faith. Without this faith we have not them, but only the names and shadows of them, as St. Augustine saith: "All the life of them that lack the true faith is sin; and nothing is good without him that is the author of goodness: where he is not, there is but feigned virtue, although it be in the best works." And St. Augustine, declaring this verse of the psalm, "The turtle hath found a nest where she may keep her young birds," saith that Jews, heretics, and pagans do good works: they clothe the naked, feed the poor, and do other good works of mercy; but because they be not done in the true faith therefore the birds be lost. But if they remain in faith, then faith is the nest and safeguard of their birds; that is to say, safeguard of their good works, that the reward of them be not utterly lost.

And this matter (which St. Augustine at large in many

books disputeth), St. Ambrose concludeth in few words, saying: "He that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural will or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this life, and attaineth not the very true virtues; for without the worshipping of the true God that which seemeth to be virtue is vice.

And yet most plainly to this purpose writeth St. John Chrysostom in this wise: "You shall find many which have not the true faith, and be not of the flock of Christ, and yet (as it appeareth) they flourish in good works of mercy: you shall find them full of pity, compassion, and given to justice; and yet for all that they have no fruit of their works, because the chief work lacketh. For when the Jews asked of Christ what they should do to work good works, he answered: 'This is the work of God, to believe in him whom he sent;' so that he called faith the work of God. And as soon as a man hath faith, anon he shall flourish in good works; for faith of itself is full of good works, and nothing is good without faith." And for a similitude he saith that "they which glister and shine in good works without faith in God be like dead men, which have goodly and precious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing. Faith may not be naked without works, for then it is no true faith; and when it is adjoined to works yet it is above the works. For as men, that be very men indeed, first have life and after be nourished; so must our faith in Christ go before, and after be nourished with good works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life. A man must needs be nourished by good works, but first he must have faith. He that doth good deeds, yet without faith, he hath not life. I can show a man that by faith without works lived and came to heaven; but without faith never man had life. The thief that was hanged when

Christ suffered did believe only, and the most merciful God did justify him. And because no man shall object that he lacked time to do good works, for else he would have done them, truth it is, and I will not contend therein, but this I will surely affirm, that faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded faith and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that faith by itself saved him, but works by themselves never justified any man."

Here ye have heard the mind of St. Chrysostom, whereby you may perceive that neither faith is without works (having opportunity thereto), nor works can avail to eternal life without faith.

MELANCHTHON

PHILIP MELANCHTHON was born at Bretten, a town of the Lower Palatinate on November 16, 1497. His father's name was Schwartzherd, but the boy's tutor, Reuchlin, was so taken with his pupil's extraordinary precocity that he dubbed him Melanchthon (the Greek form of Schwartzherd) according to the fashion of that age. He took a doctor's degree in 1514. In 1518 he was appointed by the Elector of Saxony Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg. While here he collaborated with Luther in a translation of the Scriptures from the Greek. In 1521, during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg, Melanchthon was the leader of the Reformation cause at the university. After the first Diet of Spires (1526), Melanchthon was deputed as one of the twenty-eight commissioners to visit the Reformed States and regulate the constitution of the churches therein. At the Marburg Conference (1529), between the German and Swiss reformers, Melanchthon was pitted against Zwingli in the discussion regarding the Real Presence in the sacrament. At the Diet of Augsburg (1530), Melanchthon was the leading representative of the Reformation. He drew up the seventeen articles of the evangelical faith known as the "Augsburg Confession." In 1537 Melanchthon appended to his signature of the Lutheran Articles of Smalkald the reservation that he would admit the supremacy of the Pope, provided the latter recognized the authority of the Gospel, and did not claim to rule by divine right. He died on the 19th of April, 1560, and his body was laid beside that of Martin Luther.

THE SAFETY OF THE VIRTUOUS

"NEITHER SHALL ANY PLUCK THEM OUT OF MY HAND," JOHN x. 28—DELIVERED IN 1550

TO THEE, almighty and true God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of heaven and earth, and of all creatures, together with thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost—to thee, the wise, good, true, righteous, compassionate, pure, gracious God we ren-

der thanks that thou has hitherto upheld the Church in these lands, and graciously afforded it protection and care, and we earnestly beseech thee evermore to gather among us an inheritance for thy Son, which may praise thee to all eternity.

I have in these, our assemblies, often uttered partly admonitions and partly reproofs, which I hope the most of you will bear in mind. But since I must presume that now the hearts of all are wrung with a new grief and a new pang by reason of the war in our neighborhood, this season seems to call for a word of consolation. And as we commonly say, "Where the pain is, there one claps his hand," I could not, in this so great affliction, make up my mind to turn my discourse upon any other subject. I do not, indeed, doubt that you yourselves seek comfort in the divine declarations, yet will I also bring before you some things collected therefrom, because always that on which we had ourselves thought becomes more precious to us when we hear that it proves itself salutary also to others. And because long discourses are burdensome in time of sorrow and mourning, I will, without delay, bring forward that comfort which is the most effectual.

Our pains are best assuaged when something good and beneficial, especially some help toward a happy issue, presents itself. All other topics of consolation, such as men borrow from the unavoidableness of suffering, and the examples of others, bring us no great alleviation. But the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and raised again, and now sits at the right hand of the Father, offers us help and deliverance, and has manifested this disposition in many declarations. I will now speak of the words: "No man shall pluck my sheep out of my

hand." This expression has often raised me up out of the deepest sorrow, and drawn me, as it were, out of hell.

The wisest men in all times have bewailed the great amount of human misery which we see with our eyes before we pass into eternity—diseases, death, want, our own errors by which we bring harm and punishment on ourselves, hostile men, unfaithfulness on the part of those with whom we are closely connected, banishment, abuse, desertion, miserable children, public and domestic strife, wars, murder, and devastation. And since such things appear to befall good and bad, without distinction, many wise men have inquired whether there were any Providence, or whether accident brings everything to pass independent of a divine purpose. But we in the Church know that the first and principal cause of human woe is this, that on account of sin man is made subject to death and other calamity, which is so much more vehement in the Church, because the devil, from hatred toward God, makes fearful assaults on the Church and strives to destroy it utterly. Therefore it is written: "I will put enmity between the serpent and the seed of the woman." And Peter says: "Your adversary, the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion and seeketh whom he may devour."

Not in vain, however, has God made known to us the causes of our misery. We should not only consider the greatness of our necessity, but also discern the causes of it, and recognize his righteous anger against sin, to the end that we may, on the other hand, perceive the Redeemer and the greatness of his compassion; and as witnesses to these, his declarations, he adds the raising of dead men to life, and other miracles.

Let us banish from our hearts, therefore, the unbeliev-

ing opinions which imagine that evils befall us by mere chance, or from physical causes.

But when thou considerest the wounds in thy own circle of relations, or dost cast a glance at the public disorders in the State, which again afflict the individual also (as Solon says: "The general corruption penetrates even to thy quiet habitation"), then think, first, of thy own and others' sins, and of the righteous wrath of God; and, secondly, weigh the rage of the devil, who lets loose his hate chiefly in the Church.

In all men, even the better class, great darkness reigns. We see not how great an evil sin is, and regard not ourselves as so shamefully defiled. We flatter ourselves, in particular, because we profess a better doctrine concerning God. Nevertheless, we resign ourselves to a careless slumber, or pamper each one his own desires; our impurity, the disorders of the Church, the necessity of brethren, fills us not with pain; devotion is without fire and fervor; zeal for doctrine and discipline languishes, and not a few are my sins, and thine, and those of many others, by reason of which such punishments are heaped upon us.

Let us, therefore, apply our hearts to repentance, and direct our eyes to the Son of God, in respect to whom we have the assurance that, after the wonderful counsel of God, he is placed over the family of man, to be the protector and preserver of his Church.

We perceive not fully either our wretchedness or our dangers, or the fury of enemies, until after events of extraordinary sorrowfulness. Still we ought to reflect thus: there must exist great need and a fearful might and rage of enemies, since so powerful a protector has been given to us, even God's Son. When he says: "No man shall pluck

my sheep out of my hand," he indicates that he is no idle spectator of our woe, but that mighty and incessant strife is going on. The devil incites his tools to disturb the Church or the political commonwealth, that boundless confusion may enter, followed by heathenish desolation. But the Son of God, who holds in his hands, as it were, the congregation of those who call upon his name, hurls back the devils by his infinite power, conquers and chases them thence, and will one day shut them up in the prison of hell, and punish them to all eternity with fearful pains. This comfort we must hold fast in regard to the entire Church, as well as each in regard to himself.

If, in these distracted and warring times, we see States blaze up and fall into ruin, then look away to the Son of God, who stands in the secret counsel of the Godhead and guards his little flock and carries the weak lambs, as it were, in his own hands. Be persuaded that by him thou also shalt be protected and upheld.

Here some, not rightly instructed, will exclaim: "Truly I could wish to commend myself to such a keeper, but only his sheep does he preserve. Whether I also am counted in that flock, I know not." Against this doubt we must most strenuously contend, for the Lord himself assures us in this very passage, that all who "hear and with faith receive the voice of the Gospel are his sheep"; and he says expressly: "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him." These promises of the Son of God, which cannot be shaken, we must confidently appropriate to ourselves. Nor shouldst thou, by thy doubts, exclude thyself from this blessed flock, which originates in the righteousness of the Gospel. They do not rightly distinguish between the law

and the Gospel, who, because they are unworthy, reckon not themselves among the sheep. Rather is this consolation afforded us, that we are accepted "for the Son of God's sake," truly, without merit, not on account of our own righteousness, but through faith, because we are unworthy, and impure, and far from having fulfilled the law of God. That is, moreover, a universal promise, in which the Son of God saith: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The Eternal Father earnestly commands that we should hear the Son, and it is the greatest of all transgressions if we despise him and do not approve his voice. This is what every one should often and diligently consider, and in this disposition of the Father, revealed through the Son, find grace.

Although, amid so great disturbances, many a sorrowful spectacle meets thine eye, and the Church is rent by discord and hate, and manifold and domestic public necessity is added thereto, still let not despair overcome thee, but know thou that thou hast the Son of God for a keeper and protector, who will not suffer either the Church, or thee, or thy family, to be plucked out of his hand by the fury of the devil.

With all my heart, therefore, do I supplicate the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who having been crucified for us, and raised again, sits at the right hand of the Father, to bless men with his gifts, and to him I pray that he would protect and govern this little church and me therein. Other sure trust, in this great flame when the whole world is on fire, I discern nowhere. Each one has his separate hopes, and each one with his understanding seeks repose in something else; but however good that

may all be, it is still a far better, and unquestionably a more effectual, consolation to flee to the Son of God and expect help and deliverance from him.

Such wishes will not be in vain. For to this end are we laden with such a crowd of dangers, that in events and occurrences which to human prudence are an inexplicable enigma, we may recognize the infinite goodness and presentness of God, in that he, for his Son's sake, and through his Son, affords us aid. God will be owned in such deliverance just as in the deliverance of your first parents, who, after the fall, when they were forsaken by all creatures, were upheld by the help of God alone. So was the family of Noah in the flood, so were the Israelites preserved when in the Red Sea they stood between the towering walls of waters. These glorious examples are held up before us, that we might know, in like manner, the Church, without the help of any created beings, is often preserved. Many in all times have experienced such divine deliverance and support in their personal dangers, as David saith: "My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord taketh me up," and in another place David saith: "He hath delivered the wretched who hath no helper." But in order that we may become partakers of these so great blessings, faith and devotion must be kindled within us, as it stands written: "Verily, I say unto you!" So likewise must our faith be exercised, that before deliverance we should pray for help and wait for it, resting in God with a certain cheerfulness of soul; and that we should not cherish continual doubt and melancholy murmuring in our hearts, but constantly set before our eyes the admonition of God: "The peace of God which is higher than all understanding keep your heart and mind"; which is to say, Be so comforted in God, in time of

danger, that your hearts, having been strengthened by confidence in the pity and presentness of God, may patiently wait for help and deliverance, and quietly maintain that peaceful serenity which is the beginning of eternal life, and without which there can be no true devotion.

For distrust and doubt produce a gloomy and terrible hate toward God, and that is the beginning of the eternal torments, and a rage like that of the devil.

Now you must guard against these billows in the soul, and these stormy agitations, and, by meditation on the precious promises of God, keep and establish your hearts.

Truly these times allow not the wonted security and the wonted intoxication of the world, but they demand that with honest groans we should cry for help, as the Lord saith, "Watch and pray that ye fall not into temptation," that ye may not, being overcome by despair, plunge into everlasting destruction. There is need of wisdom to discern the dangers of the soul, as well as the safeguard against them. Souls go to ruin as well when, in epicurean security, they make light of the wrath of God, as when they are overcome by doubt and cast down by anxious sorrow, and these transgressions aggravate the punishment. The godly, on the other hand, who by faith and devotion keep their hearts erect and near to God, enjoy the beginning of eternal life and obtain mitigation of the general distress.

We, therefore, implore thee, Son of God, Lord Jesus Christ, who having been crucified and raised for us, standest in the secret counsel of the Godhead, and makest intercession for us, and hast said: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." I call upon thee, and with my whole heart beseech thee, according to thine infinite compassion, forgive us our sins.

Thou knowest that in our great weakness we are not able to bear the burden of our woe. Do thou, therefore, afford us aid in our private and public necessities; be thou our shade and protector, uphold the churches in these lands, and all which serves for their defence and watch-care.

FUNERAL ORATION OVER MARTIN LUTHER

ALTHOUGH amid this general mourning my voice is so obstructed by deep affliction and tears, yet something I would attempt to say; not to eulogize the dead as the heathen do, but to admonish the living in this vast assembly, and especially to impress just sentiments upon the junior part of the auditory respecting the government of the church and its dangers, that they may learn what to desire and by what examples to regulate their lives. Wicked and infidel men represent everything in the present apparent confusion of human affairs as the result of mere chance, but, confiding in the numerous and explicit declarations of God himself, we distinguish the church from the promiscuous multitude of mankind, and affirm it is under divine superintendence and protection. To this we constantly look, obeying our lawful governors and cherishing a pious reverence for those guides and instructors whom we choose.

It will be necessary to advert to these considerations as often as the name of the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther, our most beloved father and teacher, is introduced, whom we love and honor, detestable as he appears in the eyes of many wicked men, and whom we know to have been raised up by heaven as a minister of the true gospel, by evidences which, notwithstanding the charges of our opponents, prove that his doctrines

were neither seditious nor dispersed abroad with a blind and impetuous zeal.

In this place and on these occasions many things are usually said in a panegyrical strain respecting the personal endowments of the deceased. I propose, however, to omit these and advert chiefly to his ecclesiastical function. Intelligent and pious persons will admit, if he were the means of promoting useful and necessary truth in the church, we ought to be grateful to the Providence of God for raising up such a light, while his labors, faith, perseverance and other virtues ought to be duly acknowledged and his memory tenderly cherished by all worthy men.

The apostle Paul represents Christ as "having ascended on high to give gifts unto men," that is, the preaching of the gospel and the Holy Spirit; for the purpose of communicating which, "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers;" selecting them from among those who read, study, and delight in sacred writings. Nor are they only called into the Christian service who occupy the more ordinary stations, but others are frequently introduced under the direction of learned men into this holy warfare, and it is both pleasing and profitable to witness the care of God to his church throughout all ages, in sending a continued succession of useful men, that as some fall in the glorious field others may instantly rush forward to take their places.

The first of our race who nobly occupied the foremost ranks were Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, and Shem. The latter being yet alive and dwelling in the neighborhood of Sodom when the inhabitants of the earth, forgetting the instructions of Noah and Shem, became addicted to idolatry, God raised up a coadjutor of Shem in the person of Abraham,

to co-operate in the great work of propagating divine truth. To him succeeded Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, who kindled the light of true religion in Egypt, at that period the most flourishing empire in the world; and to them Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Zachariah. After them arose Esdras, Onias, and the Maccabees; then Simeon, Zacharias, John the Baptist, Christ and his apostles.

I am delighted to contemplate this unbroken succession, which affords conspicuous evidence of the presence of God in his church. The apostles were succeeded by a troop, so to speak, of inferior warriors, but nevertheless distinguished of heaven,— Polycarp, Irenæus, Gregory of Neocæsarea, Basil, Augustine, Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, Bernard, Taulerus, and others. And although the latter ages present a more barren aspect, God has always preserved a proportion of his servants upon the earth, and now, through Martin Luther, a more splendid period of light and truth has appeared.

To this enumeration of the most eminent among the sons of men who gathered and reformed the church of God may be added others who may be regarded as the flower of mankind. Solon, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and others, who either established or ruled over mighty empires, were indeed truly great men, but far, far inferior to our illustrious leaders, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustine, and Luther, and it becomes us to study this distinction. What, then, are those great and important things which Luther has disclosed to our view, and which render his life so remarkable; for many are exclaiming against him as a disturber of the church and a promotor of inexplicable controversies? I answer that when the Holy Spirit, in his regulation of the church, reproves the world for sin, dissensions arise out of the pertinacity of wicked

men, and they alone are culpable who refuse to listen to the proclamation of the Eternal Father concerning his Son, "This is my beloved Son, Hear him."

Luther explained the true and important doctrine of penitence, which was involved in the profoundest darkness. He showed in what it consists and where refuge and consolation could be obtained under a sense of divine displeasure. He illustrated the statements of Paul respecting justification by faith, and showed the distinction between the law and the gospel, civil and spiritual justification. He pointed out the true principle of prayer, and exterminated that heathenish absurdity from the church that God was not to be invoked if the mind entertained the least doubt upon an academic question. He admonished men to pray, in the exercise of faith and a good conscience, to the only Mediator and Son of God, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for us, and not to images or deceased saints according to the shocking practice of the ignorant multitude. He also pointed out other services acceptable to God, was singularly exemplary himself in all the duties of life, and separated the puerilities of human rites and ceremonies, which prevent instead of promoting genuine worship, from those services which are essential to obedience.

In order that heavenly light might be transmitted to posterity he translated the prophetic and apostolic writings into the German language with so much accuracy that his version of itself places Scripture in a more perspicuous light than most commentaries. But he published also various expositions upon the sacred writings which in the judgment of Erasmus by far excelled all others; and as it is recorded respecting those who rebuilt Jerusalem, "with one hand they laid the stones and with the other they held the sword," so, while he com-

posed annotations on Scripture replete with heavenly instruction, and consoled afflicted consciences by his pious counsels, he was necessitated at the same time to wage incessant war with the adversaries of evangelical truth. When it is recollected that this truth, especially the doctrine of faith and the remission of sins, is not discoverable by the merely human eye, it must be acknowledged he was taught of God, and many of us have witnessed his anxious solicitude to impress the great principle of acceptance by faith.

Multitudes of the saints will therefore praise God to all eternity for the benefits which have accrued to the church by the labors of Luther. To God their gratitude is primarily due, and then they will own themselves much indebted to his labors, although infidels who ridicule the church in general will consider these noble performances as no better than empty trifling or absolute insanity. The true church does not, as some falsely affirm, promote intricate disputations, throw out the apple of contention, and propose the enigmas of the fabled Sphinx; for to those who judge seriously and without prejudice it is easy, from a comparison of opposite opinions, to perceive what are consonant to the statements of heavenly truth and what are otherwise. Christians are no longer in a state of hesitation on the subject of existing controversies, for when God determined to reveal his will and display his character in the sacred writings it is not to be imagined that such a communication would be ambiguous, like the leaves of the ancient sibyl.

Some by no means evil-minded persons, however, express a suspicion that Luther manifested too much asperity. I will not affirm the reverse, but only quote the language of Erasmus, "God has sent in this latter age a violent physician on account of the magnitude of the existing disorders," fulfill-

ing by such a dispensation the divine message to Jeremiah, "Behold I have put my words in thy mouth. See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, and to destroy and throw down, to build and to plant." Nor does God govern his church according to the counsels of men, nor choose to employ instruments like theirs to promote his purposes. But it is usual for inferior minds to dislike those of a more ardent character. When Aristides observed the mighty affairs which Themistocles, by the impulse of a superior genius, undertook and happily accomplished, although he congratulated the state on the advantage it possessed in such a man, he studied every means to divert his zealous mind from its pursuits. I do not deny that ardent spirits are sometimes betrayed into undue impetuosity, for no one is totally exempt from the weaknesses incident to human nature, but they often merit the praise assigned by the ancient proverb to Hercules, Cimon, and other illustrious characters, "rough, indeed, but distinguished by the best principles." So in the Christian church the apostle Paul mentions such as "war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience," and who are both pleasing to God and estimable among pious men. Such an one was Luther, who, while he constantly defended the pure doctrines of Christianity, maintained a conscientious integrity of character. No vain licentiousness was ever detected in him, no seditious counsels, but, on the contrary, he often urged the most pacific measures; and never, never did he blend political artifices for the augmentation of power with ecclesiastical affairs. Such wisdom and such virtue I am persuaded do not result from mere human skill or diligence, but the mind must be divinely influenced, especially when it is of the more rough, elevated, and ardent cast, like that of Luther.

What shall I say of his other virtues? Often have I myself gone to him unawares and found him dissolved in tears and prayers for the church of Christ. He devoted a certain portion of almost every day to the solemn reading of some of the Psalms of David, with which he mingled his own supplications amid sighs and tears; and he has frequently declared how indignant he felt against those who hastened over devotional exercises through sloth or the pretence of other occupations. On this account, said he, divine wisdom has prescribed some formularies of prayer, that our minds may be inflamed with devotion by reading them, to which, in his opinion, reading aloud very much conduced.

When a variety of great and important deliberations respecting public dangers have been pending, we have witnessed his prodigious vigor of mind, his fearless and unshaken courage. Faith was his sheet-anchor, and by the help of God he was resolved never to be driven from it. Such was his penetration that he perceived at once what was to be done in the most perplexing conjunctures; nor was he, as some supposed, negligent of the public good or disregardful of the wishes of others; but he was well acquainted with the interests of the state, and pre-eminently sagacious in discovering the capacity and dispositions of all about him. And although he possessed such extraordinary acuteness of intellect, he read both ancient and modern ecclesiastical writings with the utmost avidity, and histories of every kind, applying the examples they furnished to existing circumstances with remarkable dexterity. The undecaying monuments of his eloquence remain, and in my opinion he equalled any of those who have been most celebrated for their resplendent oratorical powers.

The removal of such a character from among us, of one who was endowed with the greatest intellectual capacity, well

instructed and long experienced in the knowledge of Christian truth, adorned with numerous excellences and with virtues of the most heroic cast, chosen by divine Providence to reform the church of God, and cherishing for all of us a truly paternal affection,— the removal, I say, of such a man demands and justifies our tears. We resemble orphans bereft of an excellent and faithful father; but, while it is necessary to submit to the will of heaven, let us not permit the memory of his virtues and his good offices to perish.

He was an important instrument, in the hands of God, of public utility; let us diligently study the truth he taught, imitating in our humble situations his fear of God, his faith, the intensity of his devotions, the integrity of his ministerial character, his purity, his careful avoidance of seditious counsel, his ardent thirst of knowledge. And as we frequently meditate upon the pious examples of those illustrious guides of the church, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, and Paul, whose histories are transmitted to us, so let us frequently reflect upon the doctrine and course of life which distinguished our departed friend. Let the present vast assembly now unite with me in grateful thanks and fervent supplications, saying, in the spirit of ardent devotion: "We give thanks to thee, Almighty God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and founder of thy church, together with thy co-eternal Son and the Holy Spirit, wise, good, merciful, just, true, powerful, and sovereign, because thou dost gather a heritage for thy Son from among the human race, and dost maintain the ministry of the gospel, and hast now reformed thy church by means of Luther; we present our ardent supplications that thou wouldst henceforth preserve, fix, and impress upon our hearts the doctrines of truth, as Isaiah prayed for his disciples; and that by thy Holy Spirit thou

wouldst inflame our minds with a pure devotion and direct our feet into the paths of holy obedience!"

As the removal of illustrious men from the church is frequently a means of punishing their survivors, such of us as are entrusted with the office of tuition, myself personally, and all of us collectively, entreat you to reflect upon the present calamities that threaten the whole earth. Yonder the Turks are advancing, here civil discord threatens, and there other adversaries, released at last from the apprehension of Luther's censures, will proceed, with a perverse ingenuity and with increased boldness, to corrupt the genuine truth.

That God may avert these evils, let us be more diligent in the regulation of our lives and studies, always retaining a deep impression of this sentiment in our minds, that as long as we maintain, hear, obey, and love the pure doctrines of the gospel, God will always have a church and a dwelling-place among us. "If," said Jesus Christ, "a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." Encouraged by this ample promise, let us be stimulated to inculcate the truth of heaven, knowing that the church will be the preservation of the human race and the security of established governments; and let us constantly elevate our minds to that future and eternal state of being to which God himself calls our attention, who has not given so many witnesses nor sent his Son into the world in vain, but delights in the communication of these magnificent blessings. Amen.

[Translated by Francis Augustus Cox.]

KNOX

JOHN KNOX, a famous Scottish reformer, was born at Haddington, Scotland, in 1505, and, after spending some time at the University of Glasgow, was notary and afterward tutor in his native town. Attracted by the reformed doctrines he began in 1574 to preach them in the parish church at St. Andrews, and won many to adopt the new views. On the capture of the castle at St. Andrews by the French he was carried into captivity, but soon returned and preached two years at Berwick, openly declaring the mass to be idolatry. From Berwick he went to Newcastle, where he preached with equal freedom and vehemence. On the accession of Mary to the Scottish throne he went to Dieppe, and afterward to Geneva, where he made the acquaintance of Calvin. When he returned to Scotland he went about the country preaching and writing. For two years more he was pastor of the English church at Geneva, and one of his minor works published at this time, "The First Blast Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," so incensed Queen Elizabeth that she refused to allow him to pass through England on his way homeward. He accordingly landed at Leith in 1559, and speedily became the head of the Protestant party in Scotland. In the next year he was ordained at Edinburgh. During the six years that preceded the imprisonment of Queen Mary at Lochleven, Knox remained loyal to her cause, but thought it incumbent upon him to administer to her a great deal of unpalatable advice and equally distasteful rebuke. He died November 24, 1570. He was narrow and fierce in spirit, a political partisan, and an ecclesiastical bigot, but unselfish and straightforward. The "History of the Reformation" is his principal work, a vigorous piece of writing, more or less autobiographic. The vehemence of his preaching was such as to stir his hearers to iconoclastic zeal. Only three of his sermons are preserved.

SERMON ON THE FIRST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

"Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert, that he should be tempted of the devil."— Matt. iv, 1.

THE cause moving me to treat of this place of Scripture is that such as by the inscrutable providence of God fall into divers temptations judge not themselves by reason thereof to be less acceptable in God's presence. But, on the contrary, having the way prepared to victory by Christ Jesus, they shall not fear above measure the crafty assaults

of that subtle serpent Satan; but with joy and bold courage, having such a guide as here is pointed forth, such a champion, and such weapons as here are to be found (if with obedience we will hear, and unfeigned faith believe), we may assure ourselves of God's present favor, and of final victory, by the means of him who, for our safeguard and deliverance, entered in the battle and triumphed over his adversary and all his raging fury. And that this, being heard and understood, may the better be kept in memory, this order, by God's grace, we propose to observe, in treating the matter: First, what this word "temptation" meaneth, and how it is used within the Scriptures. Second, who is here tempted, and at what time this temptation happened. Third, how and by what means he was tempted. Fourth, why he should suffer these temptations, and what fruit ensues to us from the same.

First. Temptation, or to tempt, in the Scriptures of God, is called to try, to prove, or to assault the valor, the power, the will, the pleasure, or the wisdom,— whether it be of God or of creatures. And it is taken sometimes in good part, as when it is said that God tempted Abraham; God tempted the people of Israel; that is, God did try and examine them, not for his own knowledge, to whom nothing is hid, but to certify others how obedient Abraham was to God's commandment, and how weak and inferior the Israelites were in their journey toward the promised land. And this temptation is always good, because it proceeds immediately from God, to open and make manifest the secret motions of men's hearts, the puissance and power of God's word, and the great lenity and gentleness of God toward the iniquities (yea, horrible sins and rebellions) of those whom he hath received into his regimen and care.

For who could have believed that the bare word of God

could so have moved the heart and affections of Abraham that, to obey God's commandment, he determined to kill, with his own hand, his best beloved son Isaac? who could have trusted that, so many torments as Job suffered, he should not speak in all his great temptations one foolish word against God? or who could have thought that God so mercifully should have pardoned so many and so manifest transgressions committed by his people in the desert, and yet that his mercy never utterly left them, but still continued with them till at length he performed his promise made to Abraham? Who, I say, would have been persuaded of these things unless, by trials and temptations taken of his creatures by God, they had come by revelation made in his holy Scriptures to our knowledge?

And so this kind of temptation is profitable, good, and necessary, as a thing proceeding from God, who is the fountain of all goodness, to the manifestation of his own glory and to the profit of the sufferer, however the flesh may judge in the hour of temptation. Otherwise temptation, or to tempt, is taken in evil part; that is, he that assaults or assails intends destruction and confusion to him that is assaulted. As when Satan tempted the woman in the garden, Job by divers tribulations, and David by adultery. The scribes and Pharisees tempted Christ by divers means, questions, and subtleties. And of this matter saith St. James, "God tempted no man;" that is, by temptation proceeding immediately from him, he intends no man's destruction. And here you shall note that although Satan appears sometimes to prevail against God's elect, yet he is ever frustrated of his final purpose.

By temptation he led Eve and David from the obedience of God, but he could not retain them forever under his thraldom. Power was granted to him to spoil Job of his sub-

stance and children, and to strike his body with a plague and sickness most vile and fearful, but he could not compel his mouth to blaspheme God's majesty; and therefore, although we are laid open sometimes, as it were, to tribulation for a time, it is that when he has poured forth the venom of his malice against God's elect it may return to his own confusion, and that the deliverance of God's children may be more to his glory and the comfort of the afflicted: knowing that his hand is so powerful, his mercy and good will so prompt, that he delivers his little ones from their cruel enemy, even as David did his sheep and lambs from the mouth of the lion.

For a benefit received in extreme danger more moves us than the preservation from ten thousand perils, so that we fall not into them. And yet to preserve from dangers and perils so that we fall not into them, whether they are of body or spirit, is no less the work of God than to deliver from them; but the weakness of our faith does not perceive it: this I leave at the present.

Also, to tempt means simply to prove or try without any determinate purpose of profit or damage to ensue; as when the mind doubteth of anything and therein desires to be satisfied, without great love or extreme hatred of the thing that is tempted or tried, as the Queen of Sheba came to tempt Solomon in subtle questions. David tempted, that is, tried himself if he could go in harness (1 Sam. xvii). And Gideon said, "Let not thine anger kindle against me, if I tempt thee once again." This famous queen, not fully trusting the report and fame that was spread of Solomon, by subtle questions desired to prove his wisdom; at the first, neither extremely hating nor fervently loving the person of the king. And David, as a man not accustomed to harness,

would try how he was able to go, and behave and fashion himself therein, before he would hazard battle with Goliath so armed. And Gideon, not satisfied in his conscience by the first sign that he received, desired, without contempt or hatred of God, a second time to be certified of his vocation. In this sense must the Apostle be expounded when he commands us to tempt, that is, to try and examine ourselves, if we stand in the faith. Thus much for the term.

Now to the person tempted, and to the time and place of his temptation. The person tempted is the only well-beloved Son of God; the time was immediately after his baptism; and the place was the desert or wilderness. But that we derive advantage from what is related, we must consider the same more profoundly. That the Son of God was thus tempted gives instruction to us that temptations, although they be ever so grievous and fearful, do not separate us from God's favor and mercy, but rather declare the great graces of God to appertain to us, which makes Satan to rage as a roaring lion; for against none does he so fiercely fight as against those of whose hearts Christ has taken possession.

The time of Christ's temptation is here most diligently to be noted. And that was, as Mark and Luke witness, immediately after the voice of God the Father had commended his Son to the world and had visibly pointed to him by the sign of the Holy Ghost; he was led or moved by the Spirit to go to a wilderness, where forty days he remained fasting among the wild beasts.

This Spirit which led Christ into the wilderness was not the devil, but the holy Spirit of God the Father, by whom Christ, as touching his human and manly nature, was conducted and led; likewise by the same Spirit he was strengthened and made strong, and, finally, raised up from the dead. The Spirit of

God, I say, led Christ to the place of his battle, where he endured the combat for the whole forty days and nights. As Luke saith, "He was tempted," but in the end most vehemently, after his continual fasting, and that he began to be hungry. Upon this forty days and this fasting of Christ do our papists found and build their Lent; for, say they, all the actions of Christ are our instructions; what he did we ought to follow. But he fasted forty days, therefore we ought to do the like. I answer that if we ought to follow all Christ's actions then ought we neither to eat or drink for the space of forty days, for so fasted Christ: we ought to go upon the waters with our feet; to cast out devils by our word; to heal and cure all sorts of maladies; to call again the dead to life; for so did Christ. This I write only that men may see the vanity of those who, boasting themselves of wisdom, have become mad fools.

Did Christ fast thus forty days to teach us superstitious fasting? Can the papists assure me, or any other man, which were the forty days that Christ fasted? plain it is he fasted the forty days and nights that immediately followed his baptism, but which they were, or in what month was the day of his baptism, Scripture does not express; and although the day were expressed, am I or any Christian bound to counterfeit Christ's actions as the ape counterfeits the act or work of man? He himself requires no such obedience of his true followers, but saith to the apostles, "Go and preach the gospel to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; commanding them to observe and keep all that I have commanded you."

Here Christ Jesus requires the observance of his precepts and commandments, not of his actions, except in so far as he had also commanded them; and so must the apostle be under-

stood when he saith, "Be followers of Christ, for Christ hath suffered for us, that we should follow his footsteps," which cannot be understood of every action of Christ, either in the mystery of our redemption or in his actions and marvellous works, but only of those which he hath commanded us to observe.

But where the papists are so diligent in establishing their dreams and fantasies, they lose the profit that here is to be gathered,— that is, why Christ fasted those forty days; which were a doctrine more necessary for Christians than to corrupt the simple hearts with superstition, as though the wisdom of God, Christ Jesus, had taught us no other mystery by his fasting than the abstinence from flesh, or once on the day to eat flesh, for the space of forty days. God hath taken a just vengeance upon the pride of such men, while he thus confounds the wisdom of those that do most glory in wisdom, and strikes with blindness such as will be guides and lanterns to the feet of others, and yet refuse themselves to hear or follow the light of God's word. From such deliver thy poor flock, O Lord!

The causes of Christ's fasting these forty days I find chiefly to be two: The first, to witness to the world the dignity and excellence of his vocation, which Christ, after his baptism, was to take upon him openly; the other, to declare that he entered into battle willingly for our cause, and does, as it were, provoke his adversary to assault him: although Christ Jesus, in the eternal counsel of his Father, was appointed to be the Prince of peace, the angel (that is, the messenger) of his testament, and he alone that could fight our battles for us, yet he did not enter in execution of it, in the sight of men, till he was commended to mankind by the voice of his heavenly Father, and as he was placed and anointed by the Holy Ghost

by a visible sign given to the eyes of men. After which time he was led to the desert, and fasted, as before is said; and this he did to teach us with what fear, carefulness, and reverence the messengers of the Word ought to enter on their vocation, which is not only most excellent (for who is worthy to be God's ambassador?), but also subject to most extreme troubles and dangers. For he that is appointed pastor, watchman, or preacher, if he feed not with his whole power; if he warn and admonish not when he sees the snare come; and if, in doctrine, he divide not the word righteously,— the blood and souls of those that perish for lack of food, admonition, and doctrine shall be required of his hand.

But to our purpose; that Christ exceeded not the space of forty days in his fasting, he did it to the imitation of Moses and Elias; of whom, the one before the receiving of the law, and the other before the communication and reasoning which he had with God in Mount Horeb, in which he was commanded to anoint Hazael king over Syria, and Jehu king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet, fasted the same number of days. The events that ensued and followed this supernatural fasting of these two servants of God, Moses and Elias, impaired and diminished the tyranny of the kingdom of Satan. For by the law came the knowledge of sin, the damnation of such impieties, specially of idolatry, and such as the devil had invented; and, finally, by the law came such a revelation of God's will that no man could justly afterward excuse his sin by ignorance, by which the devil before had blinded many. So that the law, although it might not renew and purge the heart, for that the spirit of Christ Jesus worketh by faith only, yet it was a bridle that did hinder and stay the rage of external wickedness in many, and was a schoolmaster that led unto Christ. For when man can

find no power in himself to do that which is commanded, and perfectly understands, and when he believes that the curse of God is pronounced against all those that abide not in everything that is commanded in God's law to do them,— the man, I say, that understands and knows his own corrupt nature and God's severe judgment, most gladly will receive the free redemption offered by Christ Jesus, which is the only victory that overthrows Satan and his power.

And so, by the giving of the law, God greatly weakened, impaired, and made frail the tyranny and kingdom of the devil. In the days of Elias the devil had so prevailed that kings and rulers made open war against God, killing his prophets, destroying his ordinances, and building up idolatry, which did so prevail that the prophet complained that of all the true fearers and worshippers of God he was left alone, and wicked Jezebel sought his life also. After this, his fasting and complaint, he was sent by God to anoint the persons aforenamed, who took such vengeance upon the wicked and obstinate idolaters that he who escaped the sword of Hazael fell into the hands of Jehu, and those whom Jehu left escaped not God's vengeance under Elisha.

The remembrance of this was fearful to Satan, for, at the coming of Christ Jesus, impiety was in the highest degree among those that pretended most knowledge of God's will; and Satan was at such rest in his kingdom that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees had taken away the key of knowledge; that is, they had so obscured and darkened God's holy Scriptures, by false glosses and vain traditions, that neither would they enter themselves into the kingdom of God, nor suffer and permit others to enter, but with violence restrained, and with tyranny struck back from the right way,— that is, from Christ Jesus himself,— such as would have entered into

the possession of life everlasting by him. Satan, I say, having such dominion over the chief rulers of the visible church, and espying in Christ such graces as before he had not seen in man, and considering him to follow in fasting the footsteps of Moses and Elias, no doubt greatly feared that the quietness and rest of his most obedient servants, the priests, and their adherents, would be troubled by Christ.

And therefore, by all engines and craft, he assaults him to see what advantage he could have of him. And Christ did not repel him, as by the power of his Godhead he might have done, that he should not tempt him, but permitted him to spend all his artillery, and received the strokes and assaults of Satan's temptations in his own body, to the end he might weaken and enfeeble the strength and tyrannous power of our adversary by his long-suffering.

For thus, methinks, our Master and Champion, Christ Jesus, provoked our enemy to battle: "Satan, thou gloriest of thy power and victories over mankind, that there is none able to withstand thy assaults nor escape thy darts, but at one time or other thou givest him a wound: lo! I am a man like to my brethren, having flesh and blood, and all properties of man's nature (sin, which is thy venom, excepted); tempt, try, and assault me; I offer you here a place most convenient — the wilderness. There shall be no mortal to comfort me against thy assaults; thou shalt have time sufficient; do what thou canst; I shall not fly the place of battle. If thou become victor, thou shalt still continue in possession of thy kingdom in this wretched world; but if thou canst not prevail against me, then must thy prey and unjust spoil be taken from thee; thou must grant thyself vanquished and confounded, and must be compelled to leave off from all accusation of the members of my body; for to them appertains the fruit of my battle,

my victory is theirs, as I am appointed to take the punishment of their sins in my body."

O dear sisters, what comfort ought the remembrance of these signs to be to our hearts! Christ Jesus hath fought our battle; he himself hath taken us into his care and protection; however the devil may rage by temptations, be they spiritual or corporeal, he is not able to bereave us out of the hand of the almighty Son of God. To him be all glory for his mercies most abundantly poured upon us!

There remains yet to be spoken of the time when our Lord was tempted, which began immediately after his baptism. Whereupon we have to note and mark that although the malice of Satan never ceases, but always seeks for means to trouble the godly, yet sometimes he rages more fiercely than others and that is commonly when God begins to manifest his love and favor to any of his children, and at the end of their battle, when they are nearest to obtain final victory. The devil, no doubt, did at all times envy the humble spirit that was in Abel, but he did not stir up the cruel heart of Cain against him till God declared his favor toward him by accepting his sacrifice.

The same we find in Jacob, Joseph, David, and most evidently in Christ Jesus. How Satan raged at the tidings of Christ's nativity! what blood he caused to be shed on purpose to have murdered Christ in his infancy! The evangelist St. Matthew witnesses that in all the coasts and borders of Bethlehem the children of two years old and of less age were murdered without mercy. A fearful spectacle and horrid example of insolent and unaccustomed tyranny! And what is the cause moving Satan thus to rage against innocents, considering that by reason of their imperfections they could not hurt his kingdom at that instant? Oh! the crafty eye of Satan looked

further than to the present time; he heard reports by the three wise men that they had learned, by the appearance of a star, that the King of the Jews was born; and he was not ignorant that the time prophesied of Christ's coming was then instant; for a stranger was clad with the crown and sceptre in the kingdom of Judah.

The angel had declared the glad tidings to the shepherds that a Saviour, which was Christ the Lord, was born in the city of David. All these tidings inflamed the wrath and malice of Satan, for he perfectly understood that the coming of the promised Seed was appointed to his confusion and to the breaking down of his head and tyranny; and therefore he raged most cruelly, even at the first hearing of Christ's birth, thinking that although he could not hinder nor withstand his coming, yet he could shorten his days upon earth, lest by long life and peaceable quietness in it the number of good men, by Christ's doctrine and virtuous life, should be multiplied; and so he strove to cut him away among the other children before he could open his mouth on his Father's message. Oh, cruel serpent! in vain dost thou spend thy venom, for the days of God's elect thou canst not shorten! And when the wheat is fallen on the ground, then doth it most multiply.

But from these things mark, dear sisters, what hath been the practice of the devil from the beginning — most cruelly to rage against God's children when God begins to show them his mercy. And therefore marvel not, dearly beloved, although the like come unto you. If Satan fume or roar against you, whether it be against your bodies by persecution, or inwardly in your conscience by a spiritual battle, be not discouraged, as though you were less acceptable in God's presence, or as if Satan might at any time prevail against you.

No: your temptations and storms that arise so suddenly argue and witness that the seed which is sown is fallen on good ground, begins to take root, and shall, by God's grace, bring forth fruit abundantly in due season and convenient time. That is it which Satan fears, and therefore thus he rages and shall rage against you, thinking that if he can repulse you now suddenly in the beginning that then you shall be at all times an easy prey, never able to resist his assaults. But as my hope is good, so shall my prayer be, that so you may be strengthened that the world and Satan himself may perceive or understand that God fights your battle. For you remember, sisters, that, being present with you and treating of the same place, I admonished you that Satan could not long sleep when his kingdom was threatened. And therefore I willed you, if you were in mind to continue with Christ, to prepare yourselves for the day of temptation. The person of the speaker is wretched, miserable, and nothing to be regarded, but the things that were spoken are the infallible and eternal truth of God; without observation of which, life neither can nor shall come to mankind. God grant you continuance to the end.

This much have I briefly spoken of the temptation of Christ Jesus, who was tempted, and of the time and place of his temptation. Now remains to be spoken how he was tempted and by what means. The most part of expositors think that all this temptation was in spirit and imagination only, the corporeal senses being nothing moved. I will contend with no man in such cases, but patiently will I suffer every man to abound in his own knowledge; and without prejudice of any man's estimations I offer my judgment to be weighed and considered by Christian charity. It appears to me by the plain text that Christ suffered this temptation

in body and spirit. Likewise, as the hunger which Christ suffered, and the desert in which he remained, were not things offered to the imagination, but that the body did verily remain in the wilderness among beasts, and after forty days did hunger and faint for lack of food, so the external ear did hear the tempting words of Satan, which entered into the knowledge of the soul, and which, repelling the venom of such temptations, caused the tongue to speak and confute Satan, to our unspeakable comfort and consolation. It appears also that the body of Christ Jesus was carried by Satan from the wilderness unto the temple of Jerusalem, and that it was placed upon the pinnacle of the same temple, from whence it was carried to a high mountain and there tempted.

If any man can show the contrary hereof by the plain Scriptures of God, with all submission and thanksgiving I will prefer his judgment to my own; but if the matter stand only in probability and opinion of men, then it is lawful for me to believe as the Scripture here speaks. That is, that Satan spake and Christ answered, and Satan took him and carried him from one place to another. Besides the evidence of the text affirming that Satan was permitted to carry the body of Christ from place to place, and yet was not permitted to execute any further tyranny against it, is most singular comfort to such as are afflicted or troubled in body or spirit.

The weak and feeble conscience of man, under such temptations, commonly gathers and collects a false consequence. For man reasons thus: The body or the spirit is vexed by assaults and temptations of Satan, and he troubles or molests it; therefore God is angry with it and takes no care of it. I answer, Tribulations or grievous vexations of body or of mind are never signs of God's displeasure against the sufferer, neither yet does it follow that God has cast away the care of

his creatures because he permits them to be molested and vexed for a time. For if any sort of tribulation were the infallible sign of God's displeasure, then should we condemn the best beloved children of God. But of this we may speak hereafter. Now to the temptation.

"And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards hungry" (verse 2). "Then came to him the tempter, and said, If you be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread," etc. (verse 3). Why Christ fasted forty days and would not exceed the same, without sense of feeling of hunger, is before touched upon, that is, he would provoke the devil to battle by the wilderness and long abstinence, but he would not usurp or arrogate any more to himself in that case than God had wrought with others, his servants and messengers before.

But Christ Jesus (as St. Augustine more amply declares), without feeling of hunger, might have endured the whole year, or to time without end, as well as he did endure the space of forty days. For the nature of mankind was sustained those forty days by the invisible power of God, which is at all times of equal power. But Christ, willing to offer further occasion to Satan to proceed in tempting of him, permitted the human nature to crave earnestly that which it lacked, that is to say, refreshing of meat; which Satan, perceiving, took occasion, as before, to tempt and assault. Some judge that Satan tempted Christ to gluttony, but this appears little to agree with the purpose of the Holy Ghost, who shows us this history to let us understand that Satan never ceases to oppugn the children of God, but continually, by one means or other, drives or provokes them to some wicked opinions of their God; and to have them desire stones to be converted into bread, or to desire hunger to be satisfied, has never been

sin, nor yet a wicked opinion of God. And therefore I doubt not but the temptation was more spiritual, more subtle, and more dangerous.

Satan had respect to the voice of God, which had pronounced Christ to be his well-beloved Son, etc. Against this voice he fights, as his nature is ever to do against the assured and immutable word of God: for such is his malice against God, and against his chosen children, that where and to whom God pronounces love and mercy, to these he threatens displeasure and damnation; and where God threatens death, there is he bold to pronounce life; and for this cause is Satan called a liar from the beginning. And so the purpose of Satan was to drive Christ into desperation, that he should not believe the former voice of God his Father; which appears to be the meaning of this temptation: "Thou hast heard," would Satan say, "a voice proclaimed in the air, that thou wast the beloved Son of God, in whom his soul was well pleased; but mayst thou not be judged more than mad, and weaker than the brainless fool, if thou believest any such promise? Where are the signs of his love? Art thou not cast out from comfort of all creatures? Thou art in worse case than the brute beasts, for every day they hunt for their prey, and the earth produces grass and herbs for their sustenance, so that none of them are pined and consumed away by hunger; but thou hast fasted forty days and nights, ever waiting for some relief and comfort from above, but thy best provision is hard stones!

If thou dost glory in thy God, and dost verily believe the promise that is made, command that these stones be bread. But evident it is that so thou canst not do; for if thou couldst, or if thy God would have showed thee any such pleasure, thou mightest long ago have removed thy

hunger and needest not have endured this languishing for lack of food. But seeing thou hast long continued thus, and no provision is made for thee, it is vanity longer to believe any such promise, and therefore despair of any help from God's hand and provide for thyself by some other means!"

Many words have I used here, dearly beloved, but I cannot express the thousandth part of the malicious despite which lurked in this one temptation of Satan. It was a mocking of Christ and of his obedience. It was a plain denial of God's promise. It was the triumphing voice of him that appeared to have gotten victory. Oh, how bitter this temptation was, no creature can understand but such as feel the grief of such darts as Satan casts at the tender conscience of those that gladly would rest and repose in God and in the promises of his mercy.

But here is to be noted the ground and foundation. The conclusion of Satan is this: Thou art none of God's elect, much less his well-beloved Son. His reason is this: Thou art in trouble and findest no relief. There the foundation of the temptation was Christ's poverty, and the lack of food without hope of remedy to be sent from God. And it is the same temptation which the devil objected to him by the princes of the priests in his grievous torments upon the cross; for thus they cried, "If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross, and we will believe in him; he trusted in God, let him deliver him, if he have pleasure in him." As though they would say, God is the deliverer of his servants from troubles; God never permits those that fear him to come to confusion; this man we see in extreme trouble; if he be the Son of God, or even a true worshipper of his name, he will deliver him from this calamity. If he deliver

him not, but suffer him to perish in these anguishes, then it is an assured sign that God has rejected him as a hypocrite, that shall have no portion of his glory. Thus, I say, Satan takes occasion to tempt, and moves also others to judge and condemn God's elect and chosen children, by reason that troubles are multiplied upon them.

But with what weapons we ought to fight against such enemies and assaults we shall learn in the answer of Christ Jesus, which follows: But he, answering, said, "It is written, Man lives not by bread only, but by every word which proceeds out of the mouth of God." This answer of Christ proves the sentence which we have brought of the aforesaid temptation, to be the very meaning of the Holy Ghost; for unless the purpose of Satan had been to have removed Christ from all hope of God's merciful providence toward him in that his necessity, Christ had not answered directly to his words, saying, "Command that these stones be made bread." But Christ Jesus, perceiving his art and malicious subtilty, answered directly to his meaning, his words nothing regarded; by which Satan was so confounded that he was ashamed to reply any further.

But that you may the better understand the meaning of Christ's answer, we will express and repeat it over in more words:

"Thou laborest, Satan," would Christ say, "to bring into my heart a doubt and suspicion of my Father's promise, which was openly proclaimed in my baptism, by reason of my hunger and that I lack all carnal provision. Thou art bold to affirm that God takes no care of me, but thou art a deceitful and false corrupt sophister, and thy argument, too, is vain and full of blasphemies; for thou bindest God's love, mercy, and providence to the having or wanting of bodily provision,

which no part of God's Scriptures teaches us, but rather the express contrary.

"As it is written, 'Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.' That is, the very life and felicity of man consist not in the abundance of bodily things, or, the possession and having of them make no man blessed or happy; neither shall the lack of them be the cause of his final misery; but the very life of man consists in God, and in his promises pronounced by his own mouth, unto which whoso cleaves unfeignedly shall live the life everlasting. And although all creatures in earth forsake him, yet shall not his bodily life perish till the time appointed by God approach.

"For God has means to feed, preserve, and maintain, unknown to man's reason and contrary to the common course of nature. He fed his people Israel in the desert forty years without the provision of man. He preserved Jonah in the whale's belly; and maintained and kept the bodies of the Three Children in the furnace of fire. Reason and the natural man could have seen nothing in these cases but destruction and death, and could have judged nothing but that God had cast away the care of these his creatures, and yet his providence was most vigilant toward them in the extremity of their dangers, from which he did so deliver them, and in the midst of them did so assist them, that his glory, which is his mercy and goodness, did more appear and shine after their troubles than it could have done if they had fallen in them. And therefore I measure not the truth and favor of God by having or by lacking of bodily necessities, but by the promise which he has made to me. As he himself is immutable, so is his word and promise constant, which I believe, and to which I will adhere, and so cleave, whatever can come to the body outwardly."

In this answer of Christ we may perceive what weapons are to be used against our adversary the devil, and how we may confute his arguments, which craftily and of malice he makes against God's elect. Christ might have repulsed Satan with a word, or by commanding him to silence, as he to whom all power was given in heaven and earth; but it pleased his mercy to teach us how to use the sword of the Holy Ghost, which is the word of God, in battle against our spiritual enemy.

The Scripture that Christ brings is written in the eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. It was spoken by Moses a little before his death, to establish the people in God's merciful providence. For in the same chapter, and in certain others that go before, he reckons the great travail and divers dangers with the extreme necessities that they had sustained in the desert the space for forty years, and yet, notwithstanding, how constant God had been in keeping and performing his promise, for throughout all perils he had conducted them to the sight and borders of the promised land. And so this Scripture more directly answers to the temptation of Satan; for thus does Satan reason, as before is said, "Thou art in poverty and hast no provision to sustain thy life. Therefore God takes no regard or care of thee as he doth over his chosen children."

Christ Jesus answered: "Thy argument is false and vain; for poverty or necessity precludes not the providence or care of God; which is easy to be proved by the people of God, Israel, who in the desert oftentimes lacked things necessary to the sustenance of life, and for lack of the same they grudged and murmured; yet the Lord never cast away the providence and care of them, but — according to the word that he had once pronounced, to wit, that they were his peculiar people;

and according to the promise made to Abraham, and to them before their departure from Egypt — he still remained their conductor and guide till he placed them in peaceable possession of the land of Canaan, their great infirmities and manifold transgressions notwithstanding."

Thus are we taught, I say, by Christ Jesus, to repulse Satan and his assaults by the word of God, and to apply the examples of his mercies, which he has shown to others before us, to our own souls in the hour of temptation and in the time of our trouble. For what God doth to one at any time, the same appertains to all that depend upon God and his promises. And therefore, however we are assaulted by Satan, our adversary, within the word of God is armor and weapons sufficient.

The chief craft of Satan is to trouble those that begin to decline from his obedience, and to declare themselves enemies to iniquity, with divers assaults, the design whereof is always the same, that is, to put variance betwixt them and God into their conscience, that they should not repose and rest themselves in his assured promises. And to persuade this he uses and invents divers arguments. Sometimes he calls the sins of their youth, and which they have committed in the time of blindness, to their remembrance; very often he objects their unthankfulness toward God and present imperfections. By sickness, poverty, tribulations in their household, or by persecution, he can allege that God is angry and regards them not. Or, by the spiritual cross, which few feel and fewer understand the utility and profit of, he would drive God's children to desperation, and, by infinite means more, he goeth about seeking, like a roaring lion, to undermine and destroy our faith. But it is impossible for him to prevail against us unless we obstinately refuse to use the

defence and weapons that God has offered. Yea, I say, that God's elect cannot refuse it, but seek for their Defender when the battle is most strong; for the sobs, groans, and lamentations of such as fight — yea, the fear they have lest they be vanquished, the calling and prayer for continuance — are the undoubted and right seeking of Christ our champion. We refuse not the weapon, although sometimes, by infirmity, we cannot use it as we would. It suffices that your hearts unfeignedly sob for greater strength, for continuance, and for final deliverance by Christ Jesus; that which is wanting in us his sufficiency doth supply; for it is he that fighteth and overcometh for us. But for bringing of the examples of the Scriptures, if God permit, in the end we shall speak more largely when it shall be treated why Christ permitted himself thus to be tempted.

Sundry impediments now call me from writing in this matter, but, by God's grace, at convenient leisure I purpose to finish and to send it to you. I grant the matter that proceeds from me is not worthy of your pain and labor to read it; yet, seeing it is a testimony of my good mind toward you, I doubt not but you will accept it in good part. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant unto you to find favor and mercy of the Judge, whose eyes and knowledge pierce through the secret cogitations of the heart, in the day of temptation, which shall come upon all flesh, according to that mercy which you (illuminated and directed by his Holy Spirit) have showed to the afflicted. Now the God of all comfort and consolation confirm and strengthen you in his power unto the end. Amen.

CALVIN

JEAN CALVIN, originally Cauvin, Latinized to Calvinus, a celebrated French reformer and theologian, was born July 10, 1509, at Noyon, France, where his father was the secretary of the bishop and where he received his earlier instruction. Later he was sent to study in Paris, and in 1527 received the curacy of Marteville. The next year he went to Bourges, to study law under the famous Andreas Aliciati, but in 1531 returned to Paris, where in 1532 he published his first book, a commentary upon Seneca's "De Clementia." On account of having advocated the reformed doctrines he was obliged to flee from Paris; and he reached Basle in 1534. In the meantime he had resigned two benefices which he had been holding, and had published "Psychopanurgia," a theological work. In 1536 his greatest work, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," appeared as a catechism, his latest version of it being put forth many years later, in 1559. In 1540 he was settled as pastor at Strasburg, where he married. In 1541 he went to Geneva, which was his home for the remainder of his life. He became practically the ruler of that city, and exercised his authority most rigidly; and his influence was powerfully felt by Reformers everywhere. He was an uncompromising opponent of all views contrary to his own, and his zeal against what he considered heresy was shown in his burning of Servetus in Geneva in 1553, a deed which must remain the darkest blot upon his fame. He died at Geneva May 27, 1564. Calvin was the greatest of Protestant commentators and theologians, and left his impress upon the thought not only of his own century, but of each succeeding one. He was of middle height, and never in strong health, while his habit of life was almost that of an ascetic.

SERMON ON ENDURING PERSECUTION

"Let us go forth out of the tents after Christ, bearing his reproach."—Hebrews xiii, 13.

ALL the exhortations which can be given us to suffer patiently for the names of Jesus Christ, and in defence of the gospel, will have no effect, if we do not feel assured of the cause for which we fight. For when we are called to part with life it is absolutely necessary to know on what grounds. The firmness necessary we cannot possess unless it be founded on certainty of faith.

It is true that persons may be found who will foolishly expose themselves to death in maintaining some absurd opinions and reveries conceived by their own brain, but such impetuosity is more to be regarded as frenzy than as Christian zeal; and, in fact, there is neither firmness nor sound sense in those who thus, at a kind of hap-hazard, cast themselves away. But, however this may be, it is in a good cause only that God can acknowledge us as his martyrs. Death is common to all, and the children of God are condemned to ignominy and tortures just as criminals are; but God makes the distinction between them, inasmuch as he cannot deny his truth.

On our part, then, it is requisite that we have sure and infallible evidence of the doctrine which we maintain; and hence, as I have said, we cannot be rationally impressed by any exhortations which we receive to suffer persecution for the gospel, if no true certainty of faith has been imprinted in our hearts. For to hazard our life upon a peradventure is not natural, and though we were to do it, it would only be rashness, not Christian courage. In a word, nothing that we do will be approved of God if we are not thoroughly persuaded that it is for him and his cause we suffer persecution and the world is our enemy.

Now, when I speak of such persuasion, I mean not merely that we must know how to distinguish between true religion and the abuses or follies of men, but also that we must be thoroughly persuaded of the heavenly life, and the crown which is promised us above, after we shall have fought here below. Let us understand, then, that both of these requisites are necessary, and cannot be separated from each other. The points, accordingly, with which we must commence, are these: We must know well what our Christianity is, what

the faith which we have to hold and follow — what the rule which God has given us; and we must be so well furnished with such instructions as to be able boldly to condemn all the falsehoods, errors, and superstitions which Satan has introduced to corrupt the pure simplicity of the doctrine of God. Hence we ought not to be surprised that, in the present day, we see so few persons disposed to suffer for the gospel, and that the greater part of those who call themselves Christians know not what it is. For all are as it were lukewarm, and, instead of making it their business to hear or read, count it enough to have had some slight taste of Christian faith. This is the reason why there is so little decision, and why those who are assailed immediately fall away. This fact should stimulate us to inquire more diligently into divine truth, in order to be well assured with regard to it.

Still, however, to be well informed and grounded is not the whole that is necessary. For we see some who seem to be thoroughly imbued with sound doctrine, and who, notwithstanding, have no more zeal or affection than if they had never known any more of God than some fleeting fancy. Why is this? Just because they have never comprehended the majesty of the holy Scriptures. And, in fact, did we, such as we are, consider well that it is God who speaks to us, it is certain that we would listen more attentively and with greater reverence. If we would think that in reading Scripture we are in the school of angels, we would be far more careful and desirous to profit by the doctrine which is propounded to us.

We now see the true method of preparing to suffer for the gospel. First, We must have profited so far in the school of God as to be decided in regard to true religion

and the doctrine which we are to hold; and we must despise all the wiles and impostures of Satan, and all human inventions, as things not only frivolous but also carnal, inasmuch as they corrupt Christian purity; therein differing, like true martyrs of Christ, from the fantastic persons who suffer for mere absurdities. Second, Feeling assured of the good cause, we must be inflamed, accordingly, to follow God whithersoever he may call us: his word must have such authority with us as it deserves, and, having withdrawn from this world, we must feel as it were enraptured in seeking the heavenly life.

But it is more than strange that, though the light of God is shining more brightly than it ever did before, there is a lamentable want of zeal! If the thought does not fill us with shame, so much the worse. For we must shortly come before the great Judge, where the iniquity which we endeavor to hide will be brought forward with such upbraidings that we shall be utterly confounded. For, if we are obliged to bear testimony to God according to the measure of the knowledge which he has given us, to what is it owing, I would ask, that we are so cold and timorous in entering into battle, seeing that God has so fully manifested himself at this time that he may be said to have opened to us and displayed before us the great treasures of his secrets? May it not be said that we do not think we have to do with God? For had we any regard to his majesty we would not dare to turn the doctrine which proceeds from his mouth into some kind of philosophic speculation. In short, it is impossible to deny that it is to our great shame, not to say fearful condemnation, that we have so well known the truth of God and have so little courage to maintain it!

Above all, when we look to the martyrs of past times, well may we detest our own cowardice! The greater part

of those were not persons much versed in holy Scripture, so as to be able to dispute on all subjects. They knew that there was one God, whom they behoved to worship and serve; that they had been redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, in order that they might place their confidence of salvation in him and in his grace; and that, all the inventions of men being mere dross and rubbish, they ought to condemn all idolatries and superstitions. In one word, their theology was in substance this: There is one God, who created all the world, and declared his will to us by Moses and the Prophets, and finally by Jesus Christ and his apostles; and we have one sole Redeemer, who purchased us by his blood, and by whose grace we hope to be saved; all the idols of the world are cursed, and deserve execration.

With a system embracing no other points than these, they went boldly to the flames or to any other kind of death. They did not go in twos or threes, but in such bands that the number of those who fell by the hands of tyrants is almost infinite. We, on our part, are such learned clerks, that none can be more so (so at least we think), and, in fact, so far as regards the knowledge of Scripture, God has so spread it out before us that no former age was ever so highly favored. Still, after all, there is scarcely a particle of zeal. When men manifest such indifference it looks as if they were bent on provoking the vengeance of God.

What, then, should be done in order to inspire our breasts with true courage? We have, in the first place, to consider how precious the Confession of our Faith is in the sight of God. We little know how much God prizes it, if our life, which is nothing, is valued by us more highly. When it is so, we manifest a marvellous degree of stupidity. We cannot save our life at the expense of our confession without

acknowledging that we hold it in higher estimation than the honor of God and the salvation of our souls.

A heathen could say that "it was a miserable thing to save life by giving up only things which made life desirable!" And yet he and others like him never knew for what end men are placed in the world and why they live in it. It is true they knew enough to say that men ought to follow virtue, to conduct themselves honestly and without reproach; but all their virtues were mere paint and smoke. We know far better what the chief aim of life should be, namely, to glorify God, in order that he may be our glory. When this is not done, woe to us! And we cannot continue to live for a single moment upon the earth without heaping additional curses on our heads. Still we are not ashamed to purchase some few days to languish here below, renouncing the eternal kingdom by separating ourselves from him by whose energy we are sustained in life.

Were we to ask the most ignorant, not to say the most brutish persons in the world, why they live, they would not venture to answer simply that it is to eat and drink and sleep; for all know that they have been created for a higher and holier end. And what end can we find if it be not to honor God, and allow ourselves to be governed by him, like children by a good parent; so that after we have finished the journey of this corruptible life we may be received into his eternal inheritance? Such is the principal, indeed the sole end. When we do not take it into account, and are intent on a brutish life, which is worse than a thousand deaths, what can we allege for our excuse? To live and not know why is unnatural. To reject the causes for which we live, under the influence of a foolish longing for a respite of some few days, during which we are to live in the world while

separated from God — I know not how to name such infatuation and madness.

But as persecution is always harsh and bitter, let us consider how and by what means Christians may be able to fortify themselves with patience, so as unflinchingly to expose their life for the truth of God. The text which we have read out, when it is properly understood, is sufficient to induce us to do so. The Apostle says, "Let us go forth from the city after the Lord Jesus, bearing his reproach." In the first place he reminds us, although the swords should not be drawn over us nor the fires kindled to burn us, that we cannot be truly united to the Son of God while we are rooted in this world. Wherefore, a Christian, even in repose, must always have one foot lifted to march to battle, and not only so, but he must have his affections withdrawn from the world, although his body is dwelling in it. Grant that this at first sight seems to us hard, still we must be satisfied with the words of St. Paul, "We are called and appointed to suffer." As if he had said, Such is our condition as Christians; this is the road by which we must go if we would follow Christ.

Meanwhile, to solace our infirmity and mitigate the vexation and sorrow which persecution might cause us, a good reward is held forth: In suffering for the cause of God we are walking step by step after the Son of God and have him for our guide. Were it simply said that to be Christians we must pass through all the insults of the world boldly, to meet death at all times and in whatever way God may be pleased to appoint, we might apparently have some pretext for replying, It is a strange road to go at a peradventure. But when we are commanded to follow the Lord Jesus, his guidance is too good and honorable to be refused. Now, in order that we may be more deeply moved, not only is it said that Jesus

Christ walks before us as our Captain, but that we are made conformable to his image; as St. Paul speaks in the eighth chapter to the Romans, "God hath ordained all those whom he hath adopted for his children, to be made conformable to him who is the pattern and head of all."

Are we so delicate as to be unwilling to endure anything? Then we must renounce the grace of God by which he has called us to the hope of salvation. For there are two things which cannot be separated,— to be members of Christ and to be tried by many afflictions. We certainly ought to prize such a conformity to the Son of God much more than we do. It is true that in the world's judgment there is disgrace in suffering for the gospel. But since we know that unbelievers are blind, ought we not to have better eyes than they? It is ignominy to suffer from those who occupy the seat of justice, but St. Paul shows us by his example that we have to glory in scourgings for Jesus Christ, as marks by which God recognises us and avows us for his own. And we know what St. Luke narrates of Peter and John, namely, that they rejoiced to have been "counted worthy to suffer infamy and reproach for the name of the Lord Jesus."

Ignominy and dignity are two opposites: so says the world which, being infatuated, judges against all reason, and in this way converts the glory of God into dishonor. But, on our part, let us not refuse to be vilified as concerns the world, in order to be honored before God and his angels. We see what pains the ambitious take to receive the commands of a king, and what a boast they make of it. The Son of God presents his commands to us, and every one stands back! Tell me, pray, whether in so doing are we worthy of having anything in common with him? There is nothing here to attract our sensual nature, but such, notwithstanding, are the true

escutcheons of nobility in the heavens. Imprisonment, exile, evil report, imply in men's imagination whatever is to be vituperated; but what hinders us from viewing things as God judges and declares them, save our unbelief? Wherefore let the Name of the Son of God have all the weight with us which it deserves, that we may learn to count it honor when he stamps his marks upon us. If we act otherwise our ingratitude is insupportable.

Were God to deal with us according to our deserts, would he not have just cause to chastise us daily in a thousand ways? Nay, more, a hundred thousand deaths would not suffice for a small portion of our misdeeds! Now, if in his infinite goodness he puts all our faults under his foot and abolishes them, and, instead of punishing us according to our demerit, devises an admirable means to convert our afflictions into honor and a special privilege, inasmuch as through them we are taken into partnership with his Son, must it not be said, when we disdain such a happy state, that we have indeed made little progress in Christian doctrine?

Accordingly St. Peter, after exhorting us to walk so purely in the fear of God as "not to suffer as thieves, adulterers, and murderers," immediately adds, "If we must suffer as Christians, let us glorify God for the blessing which he thus bestows upon us." It is not without cause he speaks thus. For who are we, I pray, to be witnesses of the truth of God, and advocates to maintain his cause? Here we are poor worms of the earth, creatures full of vanity, full of lies, and yet God employs us to defend his truth — an honor which pertains not even to the angels of heaven! May not this consideration alone well inflame us to offer ourselves to God to be employed in any way in such honorable service?

Many persons, however, cannot refrain from pleading

against God, or, at least, from complaining against him for not better supporting their weakness. It is marvellously strange, they say, how God, after having chosen us for his children, allows us to be so trampled upon and tormented by the ungodly. I answer: Even were it not apparent why he does so, he might well exercise his authority over us and fix our lot at his pleasure. But when we see that Jesus Christ is our pattern, ought we not, without inquiring further, to esteem it great happiness that we are made like to him? God, however, makes it very apparent what the reasons are for which he is pleased that we should be persecuted. Had we nothing more than the consideration suggested by St. Peter, we were disdainful indeed not to acquiesce in it. He says, "Since gold and silver, which are only corruptible metals, are purified and tested by fire, it is but reasonable that our faith, which surpasses all the riches of the world, should be tried."

It were easy indeed for God to crown us at once without requiring us to sustain any combats; but as it is his pleasure that until the end of the world Christ shall reign in the midst of his enemies, so it is also his pleasure that we, being placed in the midst of them, shall suffer their oppression and violence till he deliver us. I know, indeed, that the flesh kicks when it is to be brought to this point, but still the will of God must have the mastery. If we feel some repugnance in ourselves it need not surprise us; for it is only too natural for us to shun the cross. Still let us not fail to surmount it, knowing that God accepts our obedience, provided we bring all our feelings and wishes into captivity and make them subject to him.

When the prophets and apostles went to death it was not without feeling within some inclination to recoil. "They

will lead thee whither thou wouldst not," said our Lord Jesus Christ to Peter. When such fears of death arise within us, let us gain the mastery over them, or rather let God gain it; and meanwhile let us feel assured that we offer him a pleasing sacrifice when we resist and do violence to our inclinations for the purpose of placing ourselves entirely under his command. This is the principal war in which God would have his people to be engaged. He would have them strive to suppress every rebellious thought and feeling which would turn them aside from the path to which he points. And the consolations are so ample that it may well be said we are more than cowards if we give way.

In ancient times vast numbers of people, to obtain a simple crown of leaves, refused no toil, no pain, no trouble; nay, it even cost them nothing to die, and yet every one of them fought for a peradventure, not knowing whether he was to gain or lose the prize. God holds forth to us the immortal crown by which we may become partakers of his glory. He does not mean us to fight at hap-hazard, but all of us have a promise of the prize for which we strive. Have we any cause, then, to decline the struggle? Do we think it has been said in vain, "If we die with Jesus Christ we shall also live with him?" Our triumph is prepared, and yet we do all we can to shun the combat.

But it is said that all we teach on this subject is repugnant to human judgment. I confess it. And hence, when our Saviour declares, "Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake," he gives utterance to a sentiment which is not easily received in the world. On the contrary, he wishes to account that as happiness which in the judgment of sense is misery. We seem to ourselves miserable when God leaves us to be trampled upon by the tyranny and cruelty of

our enemies; but the error is that we look not to the promises of God, which assure us that all will turn to our good. We are cast down when we see the wicked stronger than we and planting their foot on our throat; but such confusion should rather, as St. Paul says, cause us to lift up our heads. Seeing we are too much disposed to amuse ourselves with present objects, God, in permitting the good to be maltreated and the wicked to have sway, shows by evident tokens that a day is coming on which all that is now in confusion will be reduced to order. If the period seems distant, let us run to the remedy, and not flatter ourselves in our sin; for it is certain that we have no faith if we cannot carry our views forward to the coming of Jesus Christ.

To leave no means which may be fitted to stimulate us unemployed, God sets before us promises on the one hand, and threatenings on the other. Do we feel that the promises have not sufficient influence, let us strengthen them by adding the threatenings. It is true we must be perverse in the extreme not to put more faith in the promises of God, when the Lord Jesus says that he will own us as his before his Father provided we confess him before men. What should prevent us from making the confession which he requires? Let men do their utmost, they cannot do worse than murder us! and will not the heavenly life compensate for this? I do not here collect all the passages in Scripture which bear on this subject: they are so often reiterated that we ought to be thoroughly satisfied with them. When the struggle comes, if three or four passages do not suffice, a hundred surely ought to make us proof against all contrary temptations!

But if God cannot win us to himself by gentle means, must we not be mere blocks if his threatenings also fail? Jesus

Christ summons all those who from fear of temporal death shall have denied the truth, to appear at the bar of God his Father, and says that then both body and soul will be consigned to perdition. And in another passage he says that he will disclaim all those who shall have denied him before men. These words, if we are not altogether impervious to feeling, might well make our hair stand on end! Be this as it may, this much is certain: if these things do not move us as they ought, nothing remains for us but a fearful judgment. All the words of Christ having proved unavailing, we stand convicted of gross infidelity.

It is in vain for us to allege that pity should be shown us, inasmuch as our nature is so frail; for it is said, on the contrary, that Moses, having looked to God by faith, was fortified so as not to yield under any temptation. Wherefore, when we are thus soft and easy to bend, it is a manifest sign, I do not say that we have no zeal, no firmness, but that we know nothing either of God or his kingdom. When we are reminded that we ought to be united to our Head, it seems to us a fine pretext for exemption to say that we are men! But what were those who have trodden the path before us? Indeed, had we nothing more than pure doctrine, all the excuses we could make would be frivolous; but having so many examples which ought to supply us with the strongest proof, the more deserving are we of condemnation.

There are two points to be considered. The first is, that the whole body of the Church in general has always been, and to the end will be, liable to be afflicted by the wicked, as is said in the Psalms "From my youth up they have tormented me, and dragged the plow over me from one end to the other." The Holy Spirit there brings in the ancient Church,

in order that we, after being much acquainted with her afflictions, may not regard it as either new or vexatious when the like is done to ourselves in the present day. St. Paul, also, in quoting from another Psalm, a passage in which it is said, "We have been like sheep to the slaughter," shows that that has not been for one age only, but is the ordinary condition of the Church, and shall be.

Therefore, on seeing how the Church of God is trampled upon in the present day by proud worldlings, how one barks and another bites, how they torture, how they plot against her, how she is assailed incessantly by mad dogs and savage beasts, let it remind us that the same thing was done in all the olden time. It is true God sometimes gives her a truce and time of refreshment, and hence in the Psalm above quoted it is said, "He cutteth the cords of the wicked;" and in another passage, "He breaks their staff, lest the good should fall away, by being too hardly pressed." But still it has pleased him that his Church should always have to battle so long as she is in this world, her repose being treasured up on high in the heavens.

Meanwhile the issue of her afflictions has always been fortunate. At all events God has caused that though she has been pressed by many calamities she has never been completely crushed; as it is said, "The wicked with all their efforts have not succeeded in that at which they aimed." St. Paul glories in the fact, and shows that this is the course which God in mercy always takes. He says, "We endure tribulations, but we are not in agony; we are impoverished, but not left destitute; we are persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but we perish not; bearing everywhere in our body the mortification of the Lord Jesus, in order that his life may be manifested in our mortal bodies." Such being,

as we see, the issue which God has at all times given to the persecutions of his Church, we ought to take courage, knowing that our forefathers, who were frail men like ourselves, always had the victory over their enemies by remaining firm in endurance.

I only touch on this article briefly to come to the second, which is more to our purpose, namely, that we ought to take advantage of the particular examples of the martyrs who have gone before us. These are not confined to two or three, but are, as the Apostle says, "a great and dense cloud." By this expression he intimates that the number is so great that it ought, as it were, completely to engross our sight. Not to be tedious, I will mention only the Jews, who were persecuted for the true religion as well under the tyranny of King Antiochus as a little after his death. We cannot allege that the number of sufferers was small, for it formed, as it were, a large army of martyrs. We cannot say that it consisted of prophets whom God had set apart from common people; for women and young children formed part of the band. We cannot say that they got off at a cheap rate, for they were tortured as cruelly as it was possible to be. Accordingly we hear what the Apostle says, "Some were stretched out like drums, not caring to be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection; others were proved by mockery and blows, or bonds and prisons; others were stoned or sawn asunder; others travelled up and down, wandering among mountains and caves."

Let us now compare their case with ours. If they so endured for the truth which was at that time so obscure, what ought we to do in the clear light which is now shining? God speaks to us with open mouth; the great gate of the kingdom of heaven has been opened, and Jesus Christ calls

us to himself, after having come down to us that we might have him, as it were, present to our eyes. What a reproach would it be to us to have less zeal in suffering for the gospel than those had who only hailed the promises afar off, who had only a little wicket opened whereby to come to the kingdom of God, and who had only some memorial and type of Jesus Christ? These things cannot be expressed in words as they deserve, and therefore I leave each to ponder them for himself.

The doctrine now laid down, as it is general, ought to be carried into practice by all Christians, each applying it to his own use according as may be necessary. This I say, in order that those who do not see themselves in apparent danger may not think it superfluous as regards them. They are not at this hour in the hands of tyrants, but how do they know what God means to do with them hereafter? We ought therefore to be so forearmed that, if some persecution which we did not expect arrives, we may not be taken unawares. But I much fear that there are many deaf ears in regard to this subject. So far are those who are sheltered and at their ease from preparing to suffer death when need shall be, that they do not even trouble themselves about serving God in their lives. It nevertheless continues true that this preparation for persecution ought to be our ordinary study, and especially in the times in which we live.

Those, again, whom God calls to suffer for the testimony of his Name, ought to show by deeds that they have been thoroughly trained to patient endurance. Then ought they to recall to mind all the exhortations which were given them in times past, and bestir themselves just as the soldier rushes to arms when the trumpet sounds. But how different is the result! The only question is how to find out subterfuges

for escaping. I say this in regard to the greater part; for persecution is a true touchstone by which God ascertains who are his. And few are so faithful as to be prepared to meet death boldly.

It is a kind of monstrous thing that persons who make a boast of having heard a little of the gospel can venture to open their lips to give utterance to such quibbling. Some will say, What do we gain by confessing our faith to obstinate people who have deliberately resolved to fight against God? Is not this to cast pearls before swine? As if Jesus Christ had not distinctly declared that he wishes to be confessed among the perverse and malignant. If they are not instructed thereby, they will at all events remain confounded; and hence confession is an odor of a sweet smell before God, even though it be deadly to the reprobate. There are some who say, What will our death profit? Will it not rather prove an offence? As if God had left them the choice of dying when they should see it good and find the occasion opportune. On the contrary, we approve our obedience by leaving in his hand the profit which is to accrue from our death.

In the first place, then, the Christian man, wherever he may be, must resolve, notwithstanding dangers or threatenings, to walk in simplicity as God has commanded. Let him guard as much as he can against the ravening of the wolves, but let it not be with carnal craftiness. Above all, let him place his life in the hands of God. Has he done so? Then, if he happens to fall into the hands of the enemy, let him think that God, having so arranged, is pleased to have him for one of the witnesses of his Son, and therefore that he has no means of drawing back without breaking faith with him to whom we have promised all duty in life

and in death,—him whose we are and to whom we belong, even though we should have made no promise.

In saying this I do not lay all under the necessity of making a full and entire confession of everything which they believe, even should they be required to do so. I am aware also of the measure observed by St. Paul, although no man was ever more determined boldly to maintain the cause of the gospel as he ought. And hence it is not without cause our Lord promises to give us, on such an occasion, "a mouth and wisdom;" as if he had said that the office of the Holy Spirit is not only to strengthen us to be bold and valiant, but also to give us prudence and discretion, to guide us in the course which it will be expedient to take.

The substance of the whole is, that those who are in such distress are to ask and obtain such prudence from above, not following their own carnal wisdom, in searching out for a kind of loop-hole by which to escape. There are some who tell us that our Lord himself gave no answer to those who interrogated him. But I rejoin, (1) That this does not abolish the rule which he has given us to make confession of our faith when so required; (2) That he never used any disguise to save his life; (3) That he never gave an answer so ambiguous as not to embody a sufficient testimony to all that he had to say; and that, moreover, he had already satisfied those who came to interrogate him anew, with the view, not of obtaining information, but merely of laying traps to ensnare him.

Let it be held, then, as a fixed point among all Christians, that they ought not to hold their life more precious than the testimony to the truth, inasmuch as God wishes to be glorified thereby. Is it in vain that he gives the name of "witnesses" (for this is the meaning of the word "Martyr")

to all who have to answer before the enemies of the faith? Is it not because he wishes to employ them for such a purpose? Here every one is not to look for his fellow, for God does not honor all alike with the call. And as we are inclined so to look, we must be the more on our guard against it. Peter, having heard from the lips of our Lord Jesus that he should be led in his old age where he would not, asked what was to become of his companion John? There is not one among us who would not readily have put the same question; for the thought which instantly rises in our minds is, Why do I suffer rather than others? On the contrary, Jesus Christ exhorts all of us in common, and each of us in particular, to hold ourselves "ready" in order that, according as he shall call this one or that one, we may march forth in our turn.

I explained above how little prepared we shall be to suffer martyrdom if we be not armed with the divine promises. It now remains to show somewhat more fully what the purport and aim of these promises are; not to specify them all in detail, but to show the principal things which God wishes us to hope from him, to console us in our afflictions. Now these things, taken summarily, are three. The first is, that inasmuch as our life and death are in his hand, he will so preserve us by his might that not a hair will be plucked out of our heads without his leave. Believers, therefore, ought to feel assured, into whatever hands they may fall, that God is not divested of the guardianship which he exercises over their persons. Were such a persuasion well imprinted on our hearts, we should be delivered from the greater part of the doubts and perplexities which torment us and obstruct us in our duty.

We see tyrants let loose: thereupon it seems to us that

God no longer possesses any means of saving us, and we are tempted to provide for our own affairs as if nothing more were to be expected from him. On the contrary, his Providence, as he unfolds it, ought to be regarded by us as an impregnable fortress. Let us labor, then, to learn the full import of the expression that our bodies are in the hands of him who created them. For this reason he has sometimes delivered his people in a miraculous manner and beyond all human expectation, as Shedrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the fiery furnace, Daniel from the den of lions, Peter from Herod's prison, where he was locked in, chained, and guarded so closely. By these examples he meant to testify that he holds our enemies in check, although it may not seem so, and has power to withdraw us from the midst of death when he pleases. Not that he always does it; but, in reserving authority to himself to dispose of us for life and for death, he would have us to feel fully assured that he has us under his charge; so that whatever tyrants attempt, and with whatever fury they may rush against us, it belongs to him alone to order our life.

If he permits tyrants to slay us, it is not because our life is not dear to him and in greater honor an hundred times than it deserves. Such being the case, having declared by the mouth of David that the death of the saints is precious in his sight, he says also by the mouth of Isaiah that the earth will discover the blood which seems to be concealed. Let the enemies of the gospel, then, be as prodigal as they will of the blood of martyrs, they shall have to render a fearful account of it even to its last drop! In the present day they indulge in proud derision while consigning believers to the flames; and after having bathed in their blood, they are intoxicated by it to such a degree as to count all the murders which they commit

mere festive sport. But if we have patience to wait, God will show in the end that it is not in vain he has taxed our life at so high a value. Meanwhile let it not offend us that it seems to confirm the gospel, which in worth surpasses heaven and earth.

To be better assured that God does not leave us, as it were, forsaken in the hands of tyrants, let us remember the declaration of Jesus Christ when he says that he himself is persecuted in his members. God had indeed said before, by Zecharian, "He who touches you touches the apple of mine eye." But here it is said much more expressly that if we suffer for the gospel it is as much as if the Son of God were suffering in person. Let us know, therefore, that Jesus Christ must forget himself before he can cease to think of us when we are in prison or in danger of death for his cause; and let us know that God will take to heart all the outrages which tyrants commit upon us, just as if they were committed on his own Son.

Let us now come to the second point which God declares to us in his promise for our consolation. It is, that he will so sustain us by the energy of his Spirit that our enemies, do what they may, even with Satan at their head, will gain no advantage over us. And we see how he displays his gifts in such an emergency; for the invincible constancy which appears in the martyrs abundantly and beautifully demonstrates that God works in them mightily. In persecution there are two things grievous to the flesh, the vituperation and insult of men, and the tortures which the body suffers. Now, God promises to hold out his hand to us so effectually that we shall overcome both by patience. What he thus tells us he confirms by fact. Let us take this buckler, then, to ward off all fears by which we are assailed, and let us not

confine the working of the Holy Spirit within such narrow limits as to suppose that he will not easily surmount all the cruelties of men.

Of this we have had, among other examples, one which is particularly memorable. A young man who once lived with us here, having been apprehended in the town of Tournay, was condemned to have his head cut off if he recanted, and to be burned alive if he continued steadfast to his purpose! When he was asked what he meant to do he replied simply, "He who will give me grace to die patiently for his Name will surely give me grace to bear the fire." We ought to take this expression, not as that of a mortal man, but as that of the Holy Spirit, to assure us that God is not less powerful to strengthen us and render us victorious over tortures than to make us submit willingly to a milder death. Moreover, we oftentimes see what firmness he gives to unhappy malefactors who suffer for their crimes. I speak not of the hardened, but of those who derive consolation from the grace of Jesus Christ, and by this means, with a peaceful heart, undergo the most grievous punishment which can be inflicted. One beautiful instance is seen in the thief who was converted at the death of our Lord. Will God, who thus powerfully assists poor criminals when enduring the punishment of their misdeeds, be so wanting to his own people, while fighting for his cause, as not to give them invincible courage?

The third point for consideration in the promises which God gives his martyrs is, The fruit which they ought to hope for from their sufferings, and in the end, if need be, from their death. Now, this fruit is, that after having glorified his Name — after having edified the Church by their constancy — they will be gathered together with the Lord Jesus into his immortal glory. But as we have above spoken of

this at some length it is enough here to recall it to remembrance. Let believers, then, learn to lift up their heads toward the crown of glory and immortality to which God invites them, that thus they may not feel reluctant to quit the present life for such a recompense; and, to feel well assured of this inestimable blessing, let them have always before their eyes the conformity which they thus have to our Lord Jesus Christ; beholding death in the midst of life, just as he, by the reproach of the cross, attained to the glorious Resurrection, wherein consists all our felicity, joy, and triumph!

WENTWORTH

PETER WENTWORTH, an English parliamentary leader famous in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was born about 1530. He entered Parliament in 1571 as member for Barnstable and sat in six parliaments through a period of over twenty years. Very soon after his entrance he made a remarkable speech against Sir Humphrey Gilbert. On February 8, 1576, he delivered a very memorable speech on the liberties of the House, for which he was punished by sequestration and by confinement for a month in the Tower. In 1587 further efforts of Wentworth's in behalf of free speech and parliamentary privilege again resulted in his committal to the Tower for a short time. In 1593 Wentworth, with Bromley, presented a petition regarding the succession to the crown, which so incensed the Queen that both were sent to the Tower, and there, while still a prisoner, Wentworth died, November 10, 1596. During his imprisonment he wrote his famous book "A Pithie Exhortation to Her Majestie for Establishing her Successor to the Crowne." Wentworth's views were those of the then Puritan party, and he is an interesting figure as the forerunner of Pym, Eliot, and Hampden, whose principles and practice he to some extent anticipated.

SPEECH IN BEHALF OF THE LIBERTIES OF PARLIAMENT

[This speech, delivered in the House of Commons, February 8, 1576, is the first and most important sign of the growing power of Parliament under the Tudor sovereigns. Wentworth was a prominent Puritan member, very determined and courageous, and in this speech he boldly attacks the Crown for encroachments on the privileges of the House of Commons.]

MR. SPEAKER,—I find in a little volume these words, in effect: "Sweet is the name of Liberty, but the thing itself a value beyond all inestimable treasure." So much the more it behoveth us lest we, contenting ourselves with the sweetness of the name, lose and forego the thing, being of the greatest value that can come unto this noble realm. The inestimable treasure is the use of it in this House. And therefore I do think it needful to put you in remembrance that this honorable assembly are assembled and come together here in this place for three special causes of most weighty and great importance. The first and principal is to make and abrogate such laws as may be most for the preservation of our

noble sovereign; the second . . . ; the third is to make or abrogate such laws as may be the chiefest surety, safe-keeping, and enrichment of this noble realm of England. So that I do think that the part of the faithful-hearted subject is to do his endeavor to remove all stumbling-blocks out of the way that may impair or any manner of way hinder these good and godly causes of this our coming together. I was never of Parliament but the last, and the last session, at both of which times I saw the liberty of free speech, the which is the only salve to heal all the sores of this Commonwealth, so much and so many ways infringed, and so many abuses offered to this honorable council, as hath much grieved me, even of very conscience and love to my prince and State. Wherefore, to avoid the like, I do deem it expedient to open the commodities that grow to the prince and the whole State by free speech used in this place; at least, so much as my simple wit can gather it, the which is very little in respect of that that wise heads can say therein, and so it is of more force. First, all matters that concern God's honor, through free speech, shall be propagated here and set forward, and all things that do hinder it removed, repulsed, and taken away.

Next, there is nothing commodious, profitable, or any way beneficial for the prince or State but faithful and loving subjects will offer it to this place.

Thirdly, all things discommodious, perilous, or hurtful to the prince or State shall be prevented, even so much as seemeth good to our merciful God to put into our minds, the which no doubt shall be sufficient if we do earnestly call upon him and fear him (for Solomon saith, " The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. Wisdom breatheth life into her children, receiveth them that seek her, and will go beside them in the way of righteousness,") so that our minds shall be

directed to all good, needful, and necessary things, if we call upon God with faithful hearts.

Fourthly, if the envious do offer anything hurtful or perilous, what inconvenience doth grow thereby? Verily, I think none; nay, will you have me to say my simple opinion thereof —much good cometh thereof. How, forsooth? Why, by the darkness of the night the brightness of the sun showeth more excellent and clear; and how can truth appear and conquer until falsehood and all subtleties that should shadow and darken it are found out? For it is offered in this place as a piece of fine needlework to them that are most skilful therein, for there cannot be a false stitch (God aiding us) but will be found out.

Fifthly, this good cometh thereof — a wicked purpose may the easier be prevented when it is known.

Sixthly, an evil man can do the less harm when it is known.

Seventhly, sometime it happeneth that a good man will in this place (for argument's sake) prefer an evil cause, both for that he would have a doubtful truth to be opened and manifested, and also the evil prevented. So that to this point I conclude that in this House, which is termed a place of free speech, there is nothing so necessary for the preservation of the prince and State as free speech; and without this it is a scorn and mockery to call it a Parliament House, for in truth it is none but a very school of flattery and dissimulation, and so a fit place to serve the devil and his angels in, and not to glorify God and benefit the Commonwealth.

Now, to the impediments thereof, which by God's grace and my little experience I will utter plainly and faithfully. I will use the words of Elcha —"Behold, I am as the new wine which has no vent, and bursteth the new vessels in sunder; therefore I will speak that I may have a vent. I

will open my lips and make answer. I will regard no manner of person, no man will I spare; for if I go about to please men I know not how soon my Maker will take me away." My text is vehement, which by God's sufferance I mean to observe, hoping therewith to offend none; for that of very justice none ought to be offended for seeking to do good and saying of the truth.

Among other, Mr. Speaker, two things do great hurt in this place, of which I do mean to speak. The one is a rumor which runneth about the House, and this it is: "Take heed what you do; the Queen liketh not such matter; whoever preferreth it, she will be offended with him." Or the contrary: "Her Majesty liketh of such matter; whoever speaketh against it, she will be much offended with him." The other — sometimes a message is brought into the House, either of commanding or inhibiting, very injurious to the freedom of speech and consultation. I would to God, Mr. Speaker, that these two were burned in hell — I mean rumors and messages, for wicked they undoubtedly are. The reason is, the devil was the first author of them, from whom proceedeth nothing but wickedness.

Now I will set down reasons to prove them wicked. For if we be in hand with anything for the advancement of God's glory, were it not wicked to say the Queen liketh not of it or commandeth that we shall not deal in it? Greatly were these speeches to Her Majesty's dishonor; and an hard opinion were it, Mr. Speaker, that these things should enter into her Majesty's thought. Much more wicked were it that her Majesty should like or command anything against God or hurtful to herself and the State. The Lord grant that this thing may be far from her Majesty's heart! Here this may be objected, that if the Queen's Majesty have intelligence of

anything perilous or beneficial to her Majesty's person or the State, would you not have her Majesty give knowledge thereof to the House, whereby her peril may be prevented and her benefit provided for? God forbid! Then were her Majesty in worse case than any of her subjects.

And, in the beginning of our speech, I showed it to be a special cause of our assembling; but my intent is that nothing should be done to God's dishonor, to her Majesty's peril, or the peril of the State. And therefore I will show the inconveniences that grow of these two. First, if we follow not the prince's mind, Solomon saith: "The king's displeasure is a messenger of death."

This is a terrible thing to weak nature; for who is able to abide the fierce countenance of his prince? But if we will discharge our consciences, and be true to God and prince and State, we must have due consideration of the place and the occasion of our coming together, and especially have regard unto the matter wherein we both shall serve God and our prince and State faithfully, and not dissembling as eye-pleasers, and so justly avoid all displeasures both to God and our prince; for Solomon saith, "In the way of the righteous there is life."

As for any other way, it is the path to death. So that, to avoid everlasting death and condemnation with the high and mighty God, we ought to proceed in every cause according to the matter, and not according to the prince's mind. And now I will show you a reason to prove it perilous always to follow the prince's mind. Many a time it falleth out that a prince may favor a cause perilous to himself and the whole State. What are we then if we follow the prince's mind? Are we not unfaithful unto God, our prince, and State?

Yes, truly; we are chosen of the whole realm, of a special

trust and confidence by them reposed in us, to foresee all such inconveniences. Then I will set down my opinion herein; that is to say, he that dissembleth to her Majesty's peril to be accounted as a hateful enemy, for that he giveth unto her Majesty a detestable Judas's kiss; and he that contrarieth her mind to her preservation, yea, though her Majesty would be much offended with him, is to be judged an approved lover.

For "faithful are the wounds of a lover," saith Solomon; "but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." "And 'tis better," saith Antisthenes, "to fall among ravens than among flatterers; for ravens do but devour the dead corpse, and flatterers the living." And it is both traitorous and hellish, through flattery, to seek to devour our natural prince; and that do flatterers. Therefore let them leave it with shame enough.

Now to another great matter that riseth of this grievous rumor. What is it, forsooth? Whatsoever thou art that pronounceth it, thou doth pronounce thy own discredit. Why so? For that thou doth what lieth in thee to pronounce the prince to be perjured, the which we neither will nor may believe. For we ought not, without too manifest proof, to credit any dishonor to our anointed. No; we ought not without it to think any evil of her Majesty, but rather to hold him a liar, what credit soever lie be of; for the Queen's Majesty is the head of the law, and must of necessity maintain the law, for by the law her Majesty is made justly our queen, and by it she is most chiefly maintained.

Hereunto agreeth the most excellent words of Bracton, who saith, "The king hath no peer or equal in his kingdom." He hath no equal, for otherwise he might lose his authority of commanding, since that an equal hath no power of commandment over an equal. The king ought not to be under

man, but under God, and under the law, because the law maketh him a king. Let the king, therefore, attribute that the law attributeth unto him, that is, dominion and power; for he is not a king in whom will and not the law doth rule; and therefore he ought to be under the law. I pray you mark the reason why my authority saith the king ought to be under the law; for, saith he, "He is God's vicegerent upon earth;" that is, his lieutenant to execute and do his will, the which is law or justice, and thereunto was her Majesty sworn at her coronation, as I have heard learned men in this place sundry times affirm.

Unto which I doubt not her Majesty will, for her honor and conscience' sake, have special regard; for free speech and conscience in this place are granted by a special law, as that without the which the prince and State cannot be preserved or maintained. So that I would wish that every man that feareth God, regardeth the prince's honor, or esteemeth his own credit, to fear at all times hereafter to pronounce any such horrible speeches so much to the prince's dishonor, for in so doing he showeth himself an open enemy to her Majesty, and so worthy to be contemned of all faithful hearts.

Yet there is another inconvenience that riseth of this wicked rumor. The utterers thereof seem to put into our heads that the Queen's Majesty both conceived an evil opinion, diffidence, and mistrust in us, her faithful and loving subjects; for, if she hath not, her Majesty would wish that all things dangerous to herself should be laid open before us, assuring herself that loving subjects as we are would, without schooling and direction, with careful mind to our powers, prevent and withstand all perils that might happen unto her Majesty.

And this opinion I doubt not but her Majesty hath conceived of us; for undoubtedly there was never prince, surely

there were never subjects, had more cause heartily to love, that hath faithfuller hearts, than her Majesty hath here, and their prince for her quiet government than we have. So that he that raiseth this rumor still increaseth but discredit in seeking to sow sedition as much as lieth in him between our merciful queen and us her loving and faithful subjects, the which, by God's grace, shall never lie in his power; let him spit out all his venom, and therewithal show out his malicious heart. and detestable rumor, and the utterer thereof to be a very Yet I have collected sundry reasons to prove this a hateful Judas to our noble queen. Therefore let any hereafter take heed how he publish it, for as a very Judas unto her Majesty, and an enemy to the whole State, we ought to accept him.

Now, the other was a message, Mr. Speaker, brought the last session into the House that we should not deal in any matters of religion, but first to receive from the bishops. Surely this was a doleful message; for it was as much as to say, "Sirs, ye shall not deal in God's causes; no! ye shall no wise seek to advance his glory!" And, in recompense of your unkindness, God in his wrath will look upon your doings that the chief cause that ye were called together for, the which is the preservation of their prince, shall have no success. If some one of this House had presently made this interpretation of this said message, had he not seemed to have the spirit of prophecy? Yet, truly I assure you, Mr. Speaker, there were divers of this House that said with grievous hearts, immediately upon the message, that God of his justice could not prosper the session. And let it be holden for a principle, Mr. Speaker, that council that cometh not together in God's name cannot prosper. For God saith, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst amongst them."

Well, God, even the great and mighty God, whose name is the Lord of Hosts, great in council and infinite in thought, and who is the only good Director of all Hearts, was, the last session, shut out of doors! But what fell out of it, forsooth? His great indignation was therefore poured upon this House; for he did put into the Queen's Majesty's heart to refuse good and wholesome laws for her own preservation, the which caused many faithful hearts for grief to burst out with sorrowful tears, and moved all Papists, traitors to God and her Majesty, who envy good Christian government, in their sleeves to laugh all the whole Parliament House to scorn. And shall I pass over this weighty matter so lightly? Nay! I will discharge my conscience and duties to God, my prince, and country. So certain it is, Mr. Speaker, that none is without fault, no, not our noble Queen, sith then her Majesty hath committed great fault, yea, dangerous faults to herself.

Love, even perfect love, void of dissimulation, will not suffer me to hide them to her Majesty's peril, but to utter them to her Majesty's safety. And these they are: It is a dangerous thing in a prince unkindly to abuse his or her nobility and people; and it is a dangerous thing in a prince to oppose or bend herself against her nobility and people, yea, against most loving and faithful nobility and people. And how could any prince more unkindly entreat, abuse and oppose herself against her nobility and people than her Majesty did the last Parliament? Did she call of purpose to prevent traitorous perils to her person, and for no other cause? Did not her Majesty send unto us two bills, willing us to make choice of that we liked best for her safety, and thereof to make a law, promising her Majesty's assent thereunto? And did we not first choose the one, and her Majesty refused it, yield-

ing no reason; nay, yielding great reasons why she ought to have yielded to it?

Yet did we nevertheless receive the other, and, agreeing to make a law thereof, did not her Majesty in the end refuse all our travails? And did not we, her Majesty's faithful nobility and subjects, plainly and openly decipher ourselves unto her Majesty and our hateful enemies, and hath not her Majesty left us all open to their revenge? Is this a just recompense in our Christian Queen for our just dealings? The heathen do requite good for good; then how much more is it to be expected in a Christian prince? And will not this her Majesty's handling, think you, Mr. Speaker, make cold dealing in any of her Majesty's subjects toward her again? I fear it will. And hath it not caused many already, think you, Mr. Speaker, to seek a salve for the head that they have broken? I fear it hath; and many more will do the like if it be not prevented in time. And hath it not marvellously rejoiced and encouraged the hollow hearts of her Majesty's hateful enemies and traitorous subjects? No doubt but it hath.

And I beseech God that her Majesty may do all things that may grieve the hearts of her enemies, and may joy the hearts that unfeignedly love her Majesty; and I beseech the same God to endue her Majesty with his wisdom, whereby she may discern faithful advice from traitorous, sugared speeches, and to send her Majesty a melting, yielding heart unto sound counsel, that will may not stand for a reason; and then her Majesty will stand where her enemies have fallen; for no estate will stand where the prince will not be governed by advice. And I doubt not but that some of her Majesty's council have dealt plainly and faithfully with her Majesty herein. If any have, let it be a sure sign to her Majesty to know them for approved

subjects; and whatsoever they be that did persuade her Majesty so unkindly to entreat, abuse, and to oppose herself against her nobility and people, or commend her Majesty for so doing, let it be a sure token to her Majesty to know them for sure traitors and underminers of her Majesty's life, and remove them out of her Majesty's presence and favor; for, the more cunning they are the more dangerous they are unto her Majesty. But was this all? No; for God would not vouchsafe that his Holy Spirit should all that session descend upon our bishops; so that in that session nothing was done to the advancement of his glory.

I have heard of old Parliament men that the tarnishment of the Pope and Popery and the restoring of true religion had their beginning from this House, and not from the bishops; and I have heard that few laws for religion had their foundation from them. And I do surely think — before God I speak it! — that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message. And I will show you what moveth me so to think. I was, among others, the last Parliament, sent unto the Bishop of Canterbury for the Articles of Religion that then passed this House. He asked us why we did put out of the book the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like.

"Surely, sir," said I, "because we were so occupied with other things that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God."

"What!" said he, "surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourself wholly to us therein?"

"No! by the faith I bear to God," said I, "we will pass nothing until we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list," said I, "for we will make you none."

And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me a pope-

like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons unto themselves, "*Papa non potest errare;*"[1] for surely, if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not to spurn against God's people for writing therein as they do.

But I can tell them news: they do but kick against the pricks; for undoubtedly they both have and do err; for God will reveal his truth maugre the hearts of them and all his enemies; for great is the truth and it will prevail. And, to say the truth, it is an error to think that God's spirit is tied only in them; for the Heavenly Spirit saith: "First seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things (meaning temporal) shall be given you."

These words were not spoken to the bishops only, but to all. And the writ, Mr. Speaker, that we are called up by, is chiefly to deal in God's cause, so that our commission, both from God and our prince, is to deal in God's causes. Therefore the accepting of such messages, and taking them in good part, do highly offend God, and is the acceptation of the breach of the liberties of this honorable council. For is it not all one thing to say, sirs, "you shall deal in such matters only," as to say "you shall not deal in such matters"? and is as good to have fools and flatterers in the House as men of wisdom, grave judgment, faithful hearts, and sincere consciences; for they, being taught what they shall do, can give their consents as well as others.

Well, "He that hath an office," saith St. Paul, "let him wait on his office," or give diligent attendance on his office. It is a great and special part of our office, Mr. Speaker, to maintain the freedom and consultation of speech; for by this good laws that do set forth God's glory, and for the preser-

[1] "The Pope cannot err."

vation of the prince and State, are made. St. Paul, in the same place, saith: "Hate that which is evil, cleave unto that which is good."

Then with St. Paul I do advise you all here present, yea, and heartily and earnestly desire you, from the bottom of your hearts, to hate all messengers, tale-carriers, or any other thing, whatsoever it be, that any way infringes the liberties of this honorable council; yea, hate it or them as poisonous unto our Commonwealth, for they are venomous beasts that do use it. Therefore, I say unto you again and again, "Hate that which is evil, and cling unto that which is good."

And thus, being loving and faithful-hearted, I do wish to be conceived in fear of God and love of our prince and state; for we are incorporated into this place to serve God and all England, and not to be time-servers, as humor-feeders, as cancers that would pierce the bone, or as flatterers that would fain beguile all the world, and so worthy to be condemned both of God and man; but let us show ourselves a people endued with faith, I mean a lively faith that bringeth forth good works, and not as dead.

And these good works I wish to break forth in this sort, not only in hating the enemies before spoken against, but also in openly reproving them as enemies to God, our prince, and state, that do use them, for they are so. Therefore I would have none spared or forborne that shall from henceforth offend herein, of what calling soever he be; for the higher place he hath the more harm he may do. Therefore, if he will not eschew offences, the higher I wish him hanged.

I speak this in charity, Mr. Speaker; for it is better that one should be hanged than that this noble State should be subverted. Well, I pray God with all my heart to turn the hearts of all the enemies of our prince and State, and to for-

give them that wherein they have offended; yea, and to give them grace to offend therein no more. Even so, I do heartily beseech God to forgive us for holding our peace when we have heard any inquiry offered to this honorable council; for surely it is no small offence, Mr. Speaker, for we offend therein against God, our prince, and State, and abuse the confidence by them reposed in us. Wherefore God, for his great mercies' sake, grant that we may from henceforth show ourselves neither bastards nor dastards therein, but that as rightly-begotten children we may sharply and boldly reprove God's enemies, our princes, and State; and so shall every one of us discharge our duties in this our high office wherein he hath placed us, and show ourselves haters of evil and cleavers to that that is good to the setting forth of God's glory and honor, and to the preservation of our noble Queen and Commonwealth, for these are the marks that we ought only in this place to shoot at.

I am thus earnest — I take God to witness — for conscience' sake, love unto my prince and Commonwealth, and for the advancement of justice; " for justice," saith an ancient father, " is the prince of all virtues," yea, the safe and faithful guard of man's life, for by it empires, kingdoms, people, and cities be governed, the which, if it be taken away, the society of man cannot long endure. And a king, saith Solomon, " that sitteth in the throne of judgment, and looketh well about him, chaseth away all evil; " in the which State and throne God, for his great mercies' sake, grant that our noble Queen may be heartily vigilant and watchful; for surely there was a great fault committed both in the last Parliament and since also that was, as faithful hearts as any were unto the prince and State received most displeasure, the which is but a hard point in policy to encourage the enemy, to discourage the faithful-

hearted, who of fervent love cannot dissemble, but follow the rule of St. Paul, who saith, "Let love be without dissimulation."

Now to another great fault I found the last Parliament committed by some of this House also, the which I would desire of them all might be left. I have seen right good men in other causes, although I did dislike them in that doing, sit in an evil matter against which they had most earnestly spoken. I mused at it, and asked what it meant, for I do think it a shameful thing to serve God, their prince, or country, with the tongue only and not with the heart and body. I was answered that it was a common policy in this House to mark the best sort of the same, and either to sit or arise with them. That same common policy I would gladly have banished this house, and have grafted in the stead thereof either to rise or sit as the matter giveth cause; "for the eyes of the Lord behold all the earth, to strengthen all the hearts of them that are whole with him." These be God's own words; mark them well, I heartily beseech you all; for God will not receive half-part; he will have the whole. And again, He misliketh these two-faced gentlemen, and here be many eyes that will to their great shame behold their double-dealing that use it. Thus I have holden you long with my rude speech, the which since it tendeth wholly with pure conscience to seek the advancement of God's glory, our honorable sovereign's safety, and to the sure defence of this noble isle of England, and all by maintaining of the liberties of this honorable council, the fountain from whence all these do spring — my humble and hearty suit unto you all is to accept my good will, and that is that I have here spoken out of conscience and great zeal unto my prince and state may not be buried in the pit of oblivion, and so no good come thereof.

COKE

SIR EDWARD COKE, a celebrated English chief justice, was born at Mileham, Norfolk, February 1, 1552. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at the Inner Temple, and rose rapidly into public notice. In 1592 he had been made solicitor-general, in the next year he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1594 he was created attorney-general. He is soon afterward heard of as justice of common pleas, and in 1613 he was raised to the high position of chief justice of the king's bench and privy councillor. In the earliest portion of his career he appears to have been somewhat subservient to the royal demands, but he presently became so conspicuous a supporter of civil rights against royal encroachments that he was removed from his chief justiceship in 1616. After the latter event he was a more outspoken champion than ever of parliamentary privilege, and he it was who drew up the great protestation in support of the right of freedom of debate. The immediate consequence of this act was the king's dissolution of the Parliament, and the imprisonment of Coke in the Tower for nine months. He sat in the House as a member during the first two Parliaments of Charles I, and framed the Petition of Rights which was passed in 1628. His death took place at Stoke Pogis, September 3, 1633. Coke was a very able as well as learned lawyer, but he was wanting in judicial calmness of temperament, as was shown in his rough treatment of Raleigh when the latter was brought before him for trial in 1603. He wrote "The Institutes," the first part of which is usually styled "Coke upon Littleton," "Law Reports," "The Book of Entries," "The Complete Copyholder," "Bail and Mainprize."

SPEECH ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

[A number of desperate men resolved to destroy at a blow both king and Parliament. Barrels of powder were placed in a cellar beneath the Parliament House, and it was intended that a terrible explosion should take place on November 5, 1607, when Parliament was summoned to meet. The plot was fortunately discovered and the catastrophe averted. Coke conducted the trial of the conspirators, who were speedily condemned and executed, and upon this occasion delivered one of his ablest speeches.]

IT appeareth to your lordships, and to the rest of this most honorable and grave assembly, even by that which Mr. Serjeant Philips hath already opened, that these are the greatest treasons that ever were plotted in England. But when

this assembly shall farther hear, and see discovered the root and branches of the same, not hitherto published, they will say, indeed, that when these things shall be related to posterity they will be reputed matters feigned, not done.

Therefore in this so great a cause, upon the carriage and event whereof the eye of all Christendom is at this day bent, I shall desire that I may, with more patience, be somewhat more copious and not so succinct as my usual manner hath been, and yet will I be no longer than the very matter itself shall necessarily require.

But before I enter into the particular narrative of the case I hold it fit to give satisfaction to some, and those well affected among us, who have not only marvelled, but grieved, that no speedier expedition hath been used in these proceedings, considering the monstrousness and continual horror of this so desperate a case.

[Coke here alluded to the time which had elapsed from the 4th of November, when the plot was discovered, until the day of trial, a period of nearly three months. The prisoners had no cause to complain of the rapidity of their prosecutors.]

It is *ordo naturæ*, agreeable to the order of nature, that things of great weight and magnitude, according to that axiom of the poet,

"Tarda solet magnis rebus adnesse fides."

And surely we may truly say, *nunquam ante dies nostros talia acciderunt:* neither hath the eye of man seen, nor the ear of man heard, the like things to these.

Veritas temporis filia. Truth is the daughter of time, especially in this case, wherein, by timely and often examinations, first, matters of the greatest moment have lately been found out; secondly, some known offenders and those capital, but lately apprehended; thirdly, sundry of the principal arch-

traitors before unknown, now manifested as the Jesuits; fourthly, heretical, treasonable, and damnable books lately found out, one of equivocation, and another *De Officio Principis Christiani*, of Francis Tresham's.

There have been already twenty and three several days spent in examination.

We should otherwise have hanged a man unattainted, for Guy Fawkes passed under the name of John Johnson, so that if by that name greater expedition had been used, and he hanged, though we had not missed of the man, yet the proceedings would not have been so orderly or justifiable.

The king, out of his wisdom and great moderation, was pleased to appoint this trial in time of assembly of Parliament, for that it concerned especially those of the Parliament.

And now, touching the offences themselves, they are so exorbitant and transcendent, and aggregated of so many bloody and fearful crimes, as they cannot be aggravated by any inference, argument or circumstance whatever, and that in three respects.

Because this offence is *primæ impressionis*, and therefore *sine nomine*, without any name, which might be *adæquatum*, sufficient to express it, given by any legist that ever made or writ of any laws.

For the highest treason that they could imagine, they called it *crimen læsæ majestatis*, the violating of the majesty of the prince. But this treason doth want an apt name, as tending, not only to the hurt, but to the death of the king: and not the death of the king only, but of his whole kingdom,— *non regis, sed regni*, that is, to the destruction and dissolution of the frame and fabric of this ancient, famous, and ever-flourishing monarchy, even the deletion of our whole name and nation.

And, therefore, hold not thy tongue, O God, keep not still silence, etc.

It is *sine exemplo,* beyond all examples, whether in fact or fiction, even of the tragic poets, who did beat their wits to represent the most fearful and horrible murders.

It is *sine modo,* without all measure and stint of iniquity, like a mathematical line, which is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia,* infinitely divisible.

It is treason to imagine or intend the death of the king, queen, or prince.

For treason is like a tree, whose root is full of poison, and lieth secret and hid within the earth, resembling the imagination of the heart of man, which is so secret as God only knoweth it.

Now the wisdom of the law provideth for the blasting and nipping both of the leaves, blossoms, and buds which proceed from this root of treason; either by words, which are like to leaves, or by some overt act, which may be resembled to buds and blossoms, before it cometh to such fruit and ripeness as would bring utter destruction and desolation upon the whole state.

It is likewise treason to kill the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, or any justice of one bench or the other, justices of assize, or any other judge mentioned in the statute of 25 Edward III, sitting in their judicial places and exercising their offices. And the reason is, for that every judge, so sitting by the king's authority, representeth the majesty and person of the king, and therefore it is *crimen læsæ majestatis* to kill him, the king being always, in judgment of law, present in court.

But in the High Court of Parliament, every man by virtue of the king's authority, by writ under the Great Seal, hath a

judicial place; and so consequently the killing of every of them had been a several treason and *crimen læsæ majestatis.* Besides that, to their treasons were added open rebellion, burglary, robbery, etc.; so that this offence is such as no man can express it, no example pattern it, no measure contain it.

[After carefully exonerating all foreign princes from being implicated in this plot, Coke proceeded to observe:]

As the powder treason is in itself prodigious and unnatural, so it is in its conception and birth most monstrous, as arising out of the dead ashes of former treasons. For it had three roots, all planted and watered by Jesuits and English Roman Catholics, that is to say, in England, in Flanders, and in Spain.

In December, 1601, Henry Garnet, superior of the English Jesuits, Robert Tesmond, a Jesuit, Robert Catesby (who was well trained, having a versatile talent and profoundly deceitful), together with Francis Tresham and others, in the names and for the behalf of all the English Roman Catholics, employed Thomas Winter to travel into Spain for the general good of the Roman Catholic cause. By him Garnet wrote his letters to Father Cresswell, a Jesuit residing in Spain, on that behalf. With Thomas Winter doth Tesmond, alias Greeneway, the Jesuit, go as an associate and confederate in the conspiracy.

The message (which was principally committed unto the said Winter) was that he should make a proposition and request to the king of Spain, in the behalf and names of the English Catholics, that the king would send an army hither into England, and that the forces of the Catholics in England should be prepared to join with him and do him service. And because that in all attempts upon England the greatest difficulty was ever found to be the transportation of horses, the

Catholics in England would assure the king of Spain to have always in readiness for his use and service fifteen hundred or two thousand horses against any occasion or enterprise.

Concerning the place for landing the king of Spain's army, it was resolved that if the army were great, then Essex and Kent were judged fittest; but if the army was small and trusted for succor in England then Milford Haven was thought more convenient.

In the midst of these negotiations, which proceeded very slowly on the part of the Spanish government, the fate of the Armada having taught them a lesson not likely to be speedily forgotten, Queen Elizabeth died. Garnet then sent Christopher Wright as his agent into Spain, who, soon after his arrival at that court, met with Guy Fawkes, who had arrived there from Flanders with a similar commission, to inform the king of Spain that James I of England "was like to proceed rigorously with the Catholics, and to run the same course which the late Queen did," and withal to entreat that it would please him to send an army into England, to land at Milford Haven, where the Roman Catholics would be ready to assist him. And these several messages did Christopher Wright and Guy Fawkes in the end intimate and propound to the king of Spain. But the king then very honorably answered them both that he would not in any wise further listen to any such motion, as having before despatched an embassy into England to treat for peace.

Therefore, this course by foreign princes failing, they fell into the Gunpowder Plot. For the persons offending, touching those of the laity, it is by some given out that they are such men as admit just exception, either desperate in estate, or base, or not settled in their wits, such as are without religion, without habitation, without credit, without means, with-

out hope. But (that no man, though never so wicked, may be wronged) true it is, that they were gentlemen of good houses, of excellent parts, however perniciously seduced, abased, corrupted, and Jesuited, of very competent fortunes and estates.

Besides that, Percy was of the house of Northumberland. Sir William Stanley, who principally employed Fawkes into Spain, and John Talbot of Grafton, both of great and honorable families.

Concerning those of the spirituality, it is likewise falsely said that there is never a religious man this action, but in this there are very many Jesuits, who are known to have dealt and passed through the whole action; three of them are legiers and statesmen, as Henry Garnet, alias Walley, the superintendent of the Jesuits, legier here in England; Father Cresswell, legier Jesuit in Spain; Father Baldwin, legier in Flanders, as Parsons at Rome, etc. So that the principal offenders are the seducing Jesuits; men that use the reverence of religion, yea, even the most sacred and blessed name of Jesus, as a mantle to cover their impiety, blasphemy, treason, and rebellion, and all manner of wickedness. . . .

[Coke proceeded at some length to enumerate those great persons who would in all probability have suffered in such a terrific explosion, and continued:]

I tremble, even to think of it; miserable desolation! no king, no queen, no prince, no issue male, no counsellors of state, no nobility, no bishops, no judges. Barbarous, and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty! no mantle of holiness can cover it, no pretence of religion can excuse it, no shadow of good intention can extenuate it. God and heaven condemn it; man and earth detest it; the offenders themselves were ashamed of it; wicked people exclaim against it;

and the souls of all true Christian subjects abhor it; miserable yet sudden had their ends been who should have died in that fiery tempest and storm of gunpowder; but more miserable had they been which had escaped.

[After enlarging upon similar topics in a very able manner, Coke concluded his long and elaborate address, with bestowing his prayers for the speedy repentance of those very miserable and benighted conspirators in such language as this:]

True repentance is, indeed, never too late; but late repentance is seldom found true; which yet I pray the merciful Lord to grant unto them, that, having a sense of their offences, they may make a true and sincere confession both for their soul's health and for the good and safety of the king and this State. And for the rest that are not yet apprehended my prayer to God is, *Ut aut convertantur ne pereant, aut confundantur ne noceant*,— that either they may be converted, to the end they perish not, or else confounded, that they hurt not.

DE SALES

SAINT FRANÇOIS DE SALES, a famous French devotional writer, was born at the Chateau de Sales, near Annecy, in Savoy, August 21, 1567, of noble parentage, his father being a noted Savoyard diplomatist named De Boisny. He was educated at the Jesuit College de Clermont at Paris and studied jurisprudence at Padua, becoming later an advocate of the Senate of Savoy. His inclination, long opposed by his father, had always been toward the priesthood, and when his father's reluctant consent had been obtained he took orders and received the position of dean and provost of the cathedral at Geneva. He very shortly became known for his eloquence throughout Savoy, his sermons being characterized by equal simplicity and persuasiveness. For several years he devoted himself to missionary preaching in Savoy, in the endeavor to bring back that strongly Protestant region to the Catholic faith, and in 1598 was appointed coadjutor bishop of Geneva, two years later becoming full bishop of that see. In 1610 he founded, with Madame de Chantal, the Order of the Visitation, the mother-house of the Order being placed at Annecy. He seems not to have been ambitious, preferring to remain in his native land, in spite of promotion offered him in other quarters, and at one time he declined a French bishopric tendered him by Henry IV. He died at Lyons, November 28, 1622, and was canonized in 1665. His best-known work is the "Introduction à la Vie Dévote" (1608), which has had the widest popularity, having been translated into many languages, and is still much read. His complete works in six volumes were issued in Paris in 1868 and in England in 1883-89.

PERSEVERANCE IN HOLY LOVE

JUST as a tender mother leads her child, upholding him when needful, and letting him go by himself where the path is easy; one while holding his hand to steady him, another carrying him in her arms; even so our dear Lord watches tenderly over the children of his love, leading them through difficult places, and carrying them through trials which were else unbearable. "I the Lord will hold thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help thee." Therefore we may boldly trust in God and his certain succor; sure that if we act up to his Grace, he will finish the good

work he has begun in us, "for it is God which worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

This guiding which God vouchsafes to the soul from its first beginnings of love until that final perfection which comes only with death is what we call the great gift of final perseverance, a gift to which our Lord has attached eternal glory: "He that endureth unto the end shall be saved." In fact that gift is simply the united course of guidance, succor, and support by means of which we abide in God's love to the end; just as the education, and upbringing of a child is simply a series of care, instruction, and assistance bestowed upon him until he attains an age when he becomes independent of all such.

Nevertheless the course of such guidance is not alike to all who persevere. With some it is very brief, as with those whose conversion immediately precedes death, for example, the good thief; or the soldier who, won by St. James's steadfast faith, professed his faith, and shared the apostle's martyrdom then and there; or that jailer who kept the forty martyrs of Sebaste, and who, seeing one of their number falter and renounce the martyr's palm, himself took the vacant place and became simultaneously a Christian and a martyr; or the notary we read of in the life of St. Anthony of Padua, who after a vile life died a martyr's death; or many another we hold blessed in that they died in grace having lived in sin. Such as these reach the haven after a brief voyage, achieving their pilgrimage with one bound, which God's almighty hand enables them to make so opportunely that their enemies behold them triumphant ere yet the strife seems to have begun, conversion and perseverance in their case being one and the same. Strictly speaking, we can scarcely call this perseverance, although it attains the same end.

With others, again, perseverance is long, for example, Anna with her fourscore years, St. John the Evangelist, St. Paul the first hermit, St. Hilarion, St. Romuald, or St. Francis de Paul; and these have needed sundry manner of help according to the nature and duration of their various pilgrimages.

Under all circumstances perseverance is the best gift we can desire in this life; a gift, as the Council of Trent teaches, which can seek only from God, who alone can strengthen those who stand and lift up them that fall. Therefore we are bound to ask it continually, using the means to win it which God has set before us: prayer, fasting, almsgiving, the sacraments, the companionship of good men, hearing and reading God's Word. And forasmuch as the gift of prayer and devotion is freely given to all who heartily yield themselves up to God's Holy Spirit, it is in our own power to persevere. Not that I mean to say that the first springs of perseverance depend upon ourselves; far from it, they are a precious gift of God's mercy. But that gift is put at our disposal to use according to our will, which is certainly in our own power. For while God's grace is necessary to a persevering will, such a will is in our power because his grace never fails us when our will acts up to our power. As St. Bernard says, we may all truly affirm with St. Paul that neither death nor life, nor angels nor powers, nor depth nor height can separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ. No created power can wrest us from that holy love, only we ourselves can of our own will forsake it; our own will is all we have to fear. Therefore it behoves us to put all our hope in God, who will perform that good work he has begun in us provided we do not fail him. Do not imagine but that he who bade the paralytic man go and sin no more gave him abundant

power of will to obey the precept. He would not bid his faithful servants persevere without enabling them to do so: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life;" "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong;" "So run, that ye may obtain." With David we must cry out, "Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me," certain that if we ask the blessed gift of perseverance he will not refuse it to us.

ON MEDITATION

THIS word is largely used in holy Scripture, and means an attentive oft-repeated thought, calculated to excite good or evil affections. In Psalm i, we are told that he is blessed whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and who will exercise himself therein, or meditate thereupon, day and night. And in the second the Psalmist asks, "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing?" whereby we see meditation used alike for good and evil.

Generally, however, the word "meditation" is used in holy Scripture to indicate at the attention fixed on sacred things with a view to increase love for them; and it has been, so to say, canonized by the general consent of theologians, just as angel and zeal are, while demon and woe have been assigned to evil things. So, now, in speaking of meditation, we mean that which is holy, and therein, first, mystic theology.

Now all meditation is thought, but not all thoughts are meditation. We frequently are beset by thoughts which have no method or intention, but are altogether desultory, like flies

hovering over a flower-bed without object, and this manner of thought cannot be called meditation. At other times we think attentively about somewhat with a view to understand its causes, effects, or quality, and this manner of thought is study, resembling the cockchafer, who buzzes about leaves and flowers that he may eat them. But when we think about sacred things, not in order to learn, but to kindle our affections, that is really meditating; and therein the mind resembles neither the fly amusing itself nor nor the chafer eating his fill, but the bee which goes from flower to flower amid sacred mysteries, gathering up the honey of divine love.

Some there are who continually dwell upon useless thoughts, almost without knowing what they are about. They are attentive only by inadvertence, and do not seek so to cogitate; they are like Job when he said, "My purposes are broken off, even the thoughts of my heart." Others study, and laboriously heap up vanity, but there are few who really meditate with a view to kindling heavenly love within their souls. Thought and study may be bestowed on all manner of things, but the real meditation of which I am speaking has reference only to such matters as are calculated to make us earnest and devout.

Practically, meditation is simply thought, attentive, repeated, or sustained, with a view to excite the will to holy affections and resolutions. God's Word describes such meditation by a very beautiful similitude: "I will cry out like a young swallow, and meditate like a dove." If you have ever watched the swallow broods, you will have seen how wide they open their beaks when chirping; while, on the contrary, doves keep their beaks closed more than any other bird, cooing within the throat and breast, alike in the expression of gladness or sadness. So Isaiah likens his vocal prayer to

the cry of the young swallow, and his meditation to the dove, softly swelling within his heart until it be heard of God. Again, he says, "We roar all like bears, and mourn sore like doves;" where again the roaring bear represents vocal prayer, and the mourning dove devout meditation. But that it may be remembered how the dove coos not in complaint only, but for joy likewise, the Bridegroom, when describing the spiritual springtide under the likeness of natural spring, says. "The voice of the turtle is heard in our land;" and again, "O my dove . . . let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely;" showing thereby that the devout soul is acceptable to him when it kindles its spiritual love through pious meditation.

Thus he who had said that he would "meditate like the dove" saith that he will review all his past years in the bitterness of his soul, for meditation and cogitation with a view to rousing the affections are one and the same thing. Therefore Moses, after exhorting the people of Israel to "consider in their heart" what God had done for them, goes on to say, "Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him."

And the Lord himself gave the like precept to Joshua: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all the laws." To "meditate" and to "consider" are used as synonymous in these two passages, and in both the end of consideration and meditation is to be "keeping and doing the law." The Apostle says in the same sense, "Consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds;" where by "consider" he plainly means "meditate." And why would he have us meditate upon the Passion? Not,

surely, that we may become learned, but patient and brave in our heavenward path. "Lord, what love have I unto thy law, all the day long is my study in it," David cries out. He meditates upon the law because he loves it, and he loves it because he meditates thereupon.

Meditation is the mystic rumination of which we read in the Canticles, and it was thus that the pure and gentle Isaac "went out to meditate in the field at eventide," to hold converse with his God.

The summer bee flits from flower to flower, not at haphazard, but designedly; not merely to recreate itself amid the garden's pleasant diaper, but to seek honey and carry it to its hive, to the symmetric comb where it stores its winter food. Even so the devout soul in meditation. It goes from mystery to mystery, not merely as dipping into the beauty of those wondrous matters, but deliberately seeking fresh motives for love and devout affections; and, having found these, it feeds upon and imbibes them, and, storing them up within, condenses them into resolutions suitable to the time of temptation. Thus the Heavenly Bride of the Canticles hovers like a bee round the cheek, the lips, the locks of her Beloved, drawing thence innumerable delights, until, kindled with sacred joy, she talks with him, questions, hearkens, sighs, longs, marvels, while he fills her with content, opens her heart, and fills it with boundless light and sweetness, yet so secretly that that may be said of this devout communing of the soul with God which we read of Moses: "Moses went up unto God, and God called to him out of the mountain, and they spake one with another."

PYM

JOHN PYM, a celebrated English statesman, was born at Brymore, Somersetshire, in 1584. After leaving Oxford he studied law, and, having entered the House of Commons in 1621, he distinguished himself by active opposition to the royal encroachments on parliamentary rights. For this he suffered three months' imprisonment on the dissolution of Parliament. In 1626 he was prominent in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham. He was the leader of the Short Parliament in 1640, and of the Long Parliament which assembled the next year. He conducted the impeachment of Strafford and the trial of Archbishop Laud, presented the Grand Remonstrance setting forth the manifold evils of the reign of Charles I, and was one of the "five members" whom Charles attempted to seize in January, 1642. He died suddenly in London, December 8, 1643, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was a man of wide experience, tact, and vigilance, was prompt and clever in debate, and his more important speeches were remarkable for logical arrangement and rhetorical resource. By the Royalists he was frequently nicknamed "King Pym."

SPEECH AGAINST STRAFFORD

[Delivered to the lords in Parliament, sitting in Westminster Hall, the 12th of April, 1641, after the recapitulation of the charge of treason against the Earl of Strafford.]

MY LORDS,— There hath been much time spent to prove our charge, and your lordships have heard my lord of Strafford's defence with as much patience. You have also heard our evidence summed up, whereby we have proved that he hath by traitorous words, counsels and actions traitorously endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law. This, my lords, is that poisonous arrow that hath tainted his blood, this is that cup of deadly wine that hath intoxicated him.

My lords, it comes to my share to show you how mischievous an act of treason it is by that law that he hath appealed unto,

which is the supreme law, to wit, public good; for his position was this, that *salus populi* is *suprema lex.* All laws are derived from this as its fountain, and end here as its proper centre. And those actions that are opposite to this are against law.

First, my lords, it is such an offence as comprehends all offences, such a treason as comprehends all treasons.

The earth, my lords, is a seminary of all flowers, so is this a seminary of all offences.

My lords, this law puts a difference betwixt good and evil: take away the law, my lords, and nature becomes a law to itself. As pride will be a law, lust will be a law, rapine a law, treason a law, which laws have ruled in Ireland ever since my lord came thither.

Take away the king's protection from the people, and you take away the people's allegiance to the king. Prerogative is the bounds of liberty; and, my lords, they must not contest one against another.

My lords, I beseech you consider, you have all under this custody; and, if you take away this, you take away your goods, liberties, and lives.

My lord he saith that Ireland was a conquered nation. Why, were not all nations conquered? England, Wales, etc.?

The next is this; that it is an offence full of danger to the king's person and crown, it nourisheth dissension and tumults in a people. If you consider the histories of the nations under arbitrary government, you shall find them full of cruelty and bloody massacres; yea, if you please to peruse our English histories, you shall find that, when arbitrary government was set up, how many kings fell by cruel and bloody hands, which is fearful to relate.

Thirdly, my lords, it is dangerous to the king: first, in

respect of his honor; secondly, in respect of his profit; and, thirdly, in respect of his greatness: yet all these have been put on upon the face of this treason as so many vizards. Can it be, my lords, for the king's honor, to have his ministers to lay all the fault upon the king? To kill, to imprison, to use rapine, to levy war against his people, and to ruin the State, and then all these dishonorable acts to be laid on the king? Is this for the king's honor?

Secondly, it is contrary to his profit; for, if there be not an affectionate supply from the people to the king, he can never grow in his revenue.

Nay, this, my lords, is the king's most certain revenue, that issues from the affection of his people; for other revenue, as lands or the like, are subject to many inconveniences, to many subtractions and pensions, but this is free and wholly to himself. These fourteen years past, since there hath been an unhappy cessation of Parliamentary proceedings, the king hath had less revenue and it doth him less good.

Nay, there hath been more wanting to the king than many years before. Again, it is unprofitable, and that is worse, for the king lost by it; for it hath cost him these two years more than it cost Queen Elizabeth in all her wars in Ireland and Spain,— yea, I fear, more than is to be repaired in an age.

Thirdly, in point of greatness: the world is a society of kingdoms, and it is not enough for a king to be great at home, but to equal his fellow princes abroad; nay, to be above them in honor and majesty, in riches and glory.

But, my lords, these counsels of late that have been given his Majesty have rendered him contemptible to his enemies, useless to his distressed friends, and, had they not been prevented, in time would have made him incapable of any design at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is this, my lords: it is destructive to wealth and valor; it corrupts our peace, and in peace makes us have the malignities of war; and for wealth who will venture his goods, life, his liberty, in the way of trading and commerce, when he knows not upon the return of it whether it be his own or not?

Nay, my lords, it imbaseth the spirits and valor of a nation when they must stand in fear of pilloring, scaffolding, and the like punishments; it makes men to be of base spirits.

Now, my lords, to imbase the king's coin, if it be but sixpence or twelvepence, 'tis treason by the law, and a man must die for it. What is it, then, to imbase our spirits, my lords? Truly it is a matter of great importance.

Fifthly, it doth disable the king and makes him unfit to deal with foreign enemies; for every one thinks to slip his neck out of the collar when he shall be forced to it.

The sixth consideration is that it is against the covenant betwixt the king and his people.

Before, my lords, I spoke of a legal oath, but now I speak of a personal, for we swear our allegiance to him, and he the maintenance of our laws to us; he is our husband, and we his wife; he is our father, and we his children; he is to maintain our liberties, and we his dignities and our duties.

And, my lords, Justice Thorpe was condemned and executed for breaking the king's oath. My lords, he broke not his own oath, nor did the king break his oath; and yet for violating that oath that the king had taken to his subjects he suffered.

Ah, what an unfortunate man, then, is the prisoner at the bar, that hath in all his counsels, in all his words, in all his actions, broken the king's oath, and as much as in him lay, violently persuaded the king to countenance him in all his actions!

The seventh consideration is this, my lords: it is against the end of government, for the end of government is to preserve men in their estates, lives, and liberties; but an arbitrary power destroys all this. The end of government is to advance virtue and goodness and to punish vice: but this cherisheth all disorder.

Now, my lords, I come to show the vanity of his excuses that he hath made for himself.

The first is the liberty of giving counsel, being a counsellor. True, my lords, he hath this liberty, but it is bounded within its lists, and it must be such a counsel as must stand with the sacred Majesty and the prosperity and weal of his subjects; for, if counsel be bad, it poisons the consciences of princes, it infects their ears, for all government proceeds from the prince, as from a fountain. Now, if the fountain be poisoned, how can the streams be free?

A second shift is that he hopes your lordships will be careful to secure your posterity and not to admit of this as treason.

My lords, I know your lordships will be careful to secure yourselves, but by your virtues, not by your vices.

The third excuse is the goodness of his intentions. Truly, my lords, good and evil lie close together, not easily to be discerned, if they be natural corruptions; but for murders, adultery, rapines, and treasons, these are so monstrous that they may easily be distinguished.

And I cannot be persuaded that ever he intended well that acted so ill.

The fourth excuse is the king's necessities.

My lords, this necessity came from his own counsels.

A fifth excuse is that it was for the king's honor and the maintenance of the king's power.

My lords, it hath been declared unto you that the king's power doth not extend to anything against law by which he

hath sworn to rule us and to maintain our liberties and privileges for us; and this hath been declared by five Parliaments, and also will appear in the case of the Petition of Right, and in the case of ship-money.

A sixth is that he advised the king to do it with moderation and reparation.

My lords, this is a contradiction; for there can be no reparation for this.

The seventh excuse is that no horrid facts did follow his counsels. Truly, my lords, we thank God, his sacred Majesty, and his wise counsel for that, or else God knows what fearful things would have befallen us; nor are we free from it as yet.

To conclude now, my lords, give me leave to entreat you to consider the treasons ordinarily practised. When the act is done, they cease, as in killing that noble king of France, and the several plots against Queen Elizabeth; but this treason of my lord of Strafford's is a standing treason, which, when it had been done, it had been permanent from generation to generation.

And now, my lords, these laws that he would have overthrown must now be his judges, and he is to be judged by law; and that law will have mark enough of it to describe it, for it is a law against such as break the fundamental law of the kingdom.

And, my lords, give me leave to inform you that under favor this is not to make a new way for blood; nor is the crime of treason in my lord of Strafford the less because none would venture upon such a horrid treason in two hundred and forty years.

But, my lords, for the making of our charge good by law, as we have fully proved it by testimony, we must resort to counsel with the House of Commons and trust to your lordships' justice.

COTTON

JOHN COTTON, a distinguished New England divine, was born at Derby, England, December 4, 1585. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was noted for his extraordinary proficiency in Hebrew and was chosen Fellow of Emmanuel College. At the age of twenty-eight he received the living of St. Botolph's at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and for nearly twenty years served as vicar of that parish. He belonged to the Puritan party in the Established Church, and was equally renowned as Calvinist theologian and as preacher. He at length came under the displeasure of Archbishop Laud, and after some little time spent in concealment he sailed for the Massachusetts Bay Colony in July, 1633. His coming had been greatly desired by the colonists, and very shortly after his arrival in the settlement of Boston he was designated teacher of the First Church in Boston, in which office he remained until his death, December 23, 1652, an event which plunged the community into the deepest sorrow. Those nineteen years in the colony were years of great activity on the part of Cotton. Besides his labors as teacher of his congregation, he engaged in controversial warfare with Roger Williams and others, while at the same time he exercised an almost autocratic influence in the secular affairs of the colony. The vast amount of admiration which his contemporaries paid him does not seem to have turned his head, and while he exacted from everyone a great show of respect for his office he was not without the grace of personal humility. His principal writings include "The Bloody Tenet Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb;" "A Brief Exposition upon Ecclesiastes;" "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven;" "The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared;" "The Way of Life;" "Treatise Concerning Predestination;" "The New Covenant;" "Meat for Strong Men;" "Spiritual Milk for Babes." His extraordinary popularity in his own time is now very difficult to understand, for his writings, while clear enough in their reasoning, display no especial merits in either thought or style.

SERMON ON GOD'S PROMISE TO HIS PLANTATIONS

[This sermon holds the same place in relation to the Massachusetts colony which Robinson's famous sermon at Delfthaven holds in relation to the Plymouth colony. It was the farewell sermon to Winthrop's company, as Robinson's sermon was the farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers.]

"Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more."—2 Sam. 7, 10.

IN the beginning of this chapter we read of David's purpose to build God an house, who thereupon consulted with Nathan about it, one prophet standing in need of another's help in such weighty matters. Nathan encourageth

the king unto this work (verse 3). God the same night meets Nathan and tells him a contrary purpose of his; wherein God refuseth David's offer, with some kind of earnest and vehement dislike (verses 4, 5). Secondly, he refuseth the reason of David's offer, from his long silence. For four hundred years together he spake of no such thing unto any of the tribes of Israel, saying, Why build you not me an house? (verses 6, 7).

Now, lest David should be discouraged with this answer, the Lord bids Nathan to shut up his speech with words of encouragement, and so he removes his discouragement two ways.

First, by recounting his former favors dispensed unto David. Secondly, by promising the continuance of the like or greater: and the rather, because of this purpose of his. And five blessings God promiseth unto David and his, for his sake.

The first is in the tenth verse: "I will appoint a place for my people Israel."

Secondly, seeing it was in his heart to build him an house, God would therefore build him an house renowned forever (verse 11).

Thirdly, that he would accept of an house from Solomon (verse 12).

Fourthly, he will be a Father to his son (verses 14, 15).

Fifthly, that he will establish the throne of his house forever.

In this tenth verse is a double blessing promised:

First, the designment of a place for his people.

Secondly, a plantation of them in that place, from whence is promised a threefold blessing.

First, they shall dwell there like freeholders in a place of their own.

Secondly, he promiseth them firm and durable possession; they shall move no more.

Thirdly, they shall have peaceable and quiet resting there, the sons of wickedness shall afflict them no more: which is amplified by their former troubles, as before time.

From the appointment of a place for them, which is the first blessing, you may observe this note,

The placing of a people in this or that country is from the appointment of the Lord.

This is evident in the text, and the Apostle speaks of it as grounded in nature (Acts xvii, 26). God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation (Deut. ii, 5, 9). God would not have the Israelites meddle with the Edomites or the Moabites, because he had given them their land for a possession. God assigned out such a land for such a posterity and for such a time.

Q. Wherein doth this work of God stand in appointing a place for a people?

Ans. First, when God espies or discovers a land for a people, as in Ezek. xx, 6, he brought them into a land that he had espied for them; and that is, when either he gives them to discover it themselves, or hear of it discovered by others, and fitting them.

Secondly, after he hath espied it, when he carrieth them along to it, so that they plainly see a providence of God leading them from one country to another, as in Ex. xix, 4, You have seen how I have borne you as on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. So that though they met with many difficulties, yet he carried them high above them all, like an eagle, flying over seas and rocks and all hindrances.

Thirdly, when he makes room for a people to dwell there, as in Ps. lxxx, 9, Thou preparedst room for them. When

Isaac sojourned among the Philistines, he digged one well, and the Philistines strove for it, and he called it Esek; and he digged another well, and for that they strove also, therefore he called it Sitnah; and he removed thence, and digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called it Rehoboth, and said, For now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land. Now no Esek, no Sitnah, no quarrel or contention, but now he sits down in Rehoboth in a peaceable room.

Now God makes room for a people three ways:

First, when he casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawful war with the inhabitants, which God calls them unto, as in Ps. xliv, 2, Thou didst drive out the heathen before them. But this course of warring against others and driving them out without provocation depends upon special commission from God, or else it is not imitable.

Secondly, when he gives a foreign people favor in the eyes of any native people to come and sit down with them either by way of purchase, as Abraham did obtain the field of Machpelah; or else when they give it in courtesy, as Pharaoh did the land of Goshen unto the sons of Jacob.

Thirdly, when he makes a country, though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet void in that place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the son of Adam or Noah to come and inhabit, though they neither buy it nor ask their leaves. Abraham and Isaac, when they sojourned amongst the Philistines,[1] they did not buy that land to feed their cattle, because they said, There is room

[1] This sojourning was a constant residence there, as in a possession of their own; although it be called sojourning or dwelling as strangers, because they neither had the sovereign government of the whole country in their own hand, nor yet did incorporate themselves into the commonwealth of the natives, to submit themselves unto their government.

enough. And so did Jacob pitch his tent by Sechem (Gen. xxxiv, 21). There was room enough, as Hamor said, Let them sit down amongst us. And in this case, if the people who were former inhabitants did disturb them in their possessions, they complained to the king, as of wrong done unto them, as Abraham did because they took away his well, in Gen. xxi, 25. For his right whereto he pleaded not his immediate calling from God (for that would have seemed frivolous amongst the heathen), but his own industry and culture in digging the well (verse 30). Nor doth the king reject his plea, with what had he to do to dig wells in their soil? but admitteth it as a principle in nature that in a vacant soil he that taketh possession of it and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his right it is. And the ground of this is from the grand charter given to Adam and his posterity in Paradise (Gen. i, 28): "Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it." If, therefore, any son of Adam come and find a place empty, he hath liberty to come, and fill, and subdue the earth there. This charter was renewed to Noah (Gen. ix, 1): Fulfil the earth and multiply,— so that it is free from that common grant for any to take possession of vacant countries. Indeed no nation is to drive out another without special commission from heaven, such as the Israelites had, unless the natives do unjustly wrong them and will not recompense the wrongs done in peaceable fort, and then they may right themselves by lawful war, and subdue the country unto themselves.

This placing of people in this or that country is from God's sovereignty over all the earth and the inhabitants thereof as in Ps. xxiv, 1, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. And in Jer. x, 7, God is there called The King of Nations: and in Deut. x, 14, Therefore it is meet he should pro-

vide a place for all nations to inhabit, and have all the earth replenished. Only in the text here is meant some more special appointment, because God tells them it by his own mouth; he doth not so with other people, he doth not tell the children of Sier that he hath appointed a place for them: that is, he gives them the land by promise; others take the land by his providence, but God's people take the land by promise. And therefore the land of Canaan is called a land of promise. Which they discern, first, by discerning themselves to be in Christ, in whom all the promises are yea and amen.

Secondly, by finding his holy presence with them, to wit, when he plants them in the holy mountain of his inheritance (Ex. xv, 17). And that is when he giveth them the liberty and purity of his ordinances. It is a land of promise, where they have provision for soul as well as for body. Ruth dwelt well for outward respects while she dwelt in Moab, but when she cometh to dwell in Israel she is said to come under the wings of God (Ruth ii, 12). When God wraps us in with his ordinances, and warms us with the life and power of them as with wings, there is a land of promise.

This may teach us all where we do now dwell, or where after we may dwell, be sure you look at every place appointed to you from the hand of God: we may not rush into any place, and never say to God, By your leave; but we must discern how God appoints us this place. There is poor comfort in sitting down in any place, that you cannot say, This place is appointed me of God. Canst thou say that God spied out this place for thee, and there hath settled thee above all hindrances? didst thou find that God made room for thee either by lawful descent, or purchase, or gift, or other warrantable right? Why, then, this is the place God hath

appointed thee; here he hath made room for thee, he hath placed thee in Rehoboth, in a peaceable place. This we must discern, or else we are but intruders upon God. And when we do withal discern that God giveth us these outward blessings from his love in Christ, and maketh comfortable provision as well for our souls as for our bodies, by the means of grace, then do we enjoy our present possession as well by gracious promise as by the common and just and bountiful providence of the Lord. Or if a man do remove, he must see that God hath espied out such a country for him.

Secondly, though there be many difficulties, yet he hath given us hearts to overlook them all, as if we were carried upon eagles' wings.

And thirdly, see God making room for us by some lawful means.

Q. But how shall I know whether God hath appointed me such a place, if I be well where I am, what may warrant my removal?

Ans. There be four or five good things, for procurement of any of which I may remove. Secondly, there be some evil things, for avoiding of any of which we may transplant ourselves. Thirdly, if withal we find some special providence of God concurring in either of both concerning ourselves, and applying general grounds of removal to our personal estate.

First, we may remove for the gaining of knowledge. Our Saviour commends it in the Queen of the South, that she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon (Matt. xii, 42). And surely with him she might have continued for the same end if her personal calling had not recalled her home.

Secondly, some remove and travail for merchandise and gain-sake. Daily bread may be sought from far (Prov. xxxi,

14). Yea, our Saviour approveth travail for merchants (Matt. xiii, 45, 46) when he compareth a Christian to a merchantman seeking pearls; for he never fetcheth a comparison from any unlawful thing to illustrate a thing lawful. The comparison from the unjust steward and from the thief in the night is not taken from the injustice of the one or the theft of the other; but from the wisdom of the one and the suddenness of the other, which in themselves are not unlawful.

Thirdly, to plant a colony, that is, a company that agree together to remove out of their own country and settle a city or commonwealth elsewhere. Of such a colony we read in Acts xvi, 12, which God blessed and prospered exceedingly and made it a glorious Church. Nature teacheth bees to do so when, as the hive is too full, they seek abroad for new dwellings. So when the hive of the commonwealth is so full that tradesmen cannot live one by another, but eat up one another, in this case it is lawful to remove.

Fourthly, God alloweth a man to remove when he may employ his talents and gift better elsewhere, especially when where he is he is not bound by any special engagement. Thus God sent Joseph before to preserve the Church. Joseph's wisdom and spirit was not fit for a shepherd, but for a counsellor of state, and therefore God sent him into Egypt. To whom much is given of him God will require the more (Luke xii, 48).

Fifthly, for the liberty of the ordinances (2 Chron. xi, 13-15). When Jeroboam made a desertion from Judah and set up golden calves to worship, all that were well affected, both priests and people, sold their possessions and came to Jerusalem for the ordinances' sake. This case was of seasonable use to our fathers in the days of Queen Mary, who removed to France and Germany in the beginning of her

reign, upon proclamation of alteration of religion, before any persecution began.

Secondly, there be evils to be avoided that may warrant removal. First, when some grievous sins overspread a country that threaten desolation (Micah ii, 6-11). When the people say to them that prophesy, Prophesy not; then verse 10: Arise then, this is not your rest. Which words, though, they be a threatening, not a commandment; yet as in a threatening a wise man foreseeth the plague, so in the threatening he seeth a commandment, to hide himself from it. This case might have been of seasonable use unto them of the Palatinate when they saw their Orthodox ministers banished, although themselves might for a while enjoy liberty of conscience.

Secondly, if men be overburdened with debts and miseries, as David's followers were, they may then retire out of the way (as they retired to David for safety), not to defraud their creditors,— for God is an avenger of such things (1 Thess. iv, 6),— but to gain further opportunity to discharge their debts and to satisfy their creditors (1 Sam. xxii, 1, 2).

Thirdly, in case of persecution, so did the Apostle in Acts xiii, 46, 47.

Thirdly, as these general cases, where any of them do fall out, do warrant removal in general, so there be some special providences or particular cases which may give warrant unto such or such a person to transplant himself, and which apply the former general grounds to particular persons.

First, if sovereign authority command and encourage such plantations by giving way to subjects to transplant themselves and set up a new commonwealth. This is a lawful and expedient case for such particular persons as be designed and sent (Matt. viii, 9), and for such as they who are sent have power to command.

Secondly, when some special providence of God leads a man unto such a course. This may also single out particulars. Ps. xxxii, 8, I will instruct, and guide thee with mine eye. As the child knows the pleasure of his father in his eye, so doth the child of God see God's pleasure in the eye of his heavenly Father's providence. And this is done three ways.

First, if God give a man an inclination to this or that course, for that is the spirit of man; and God is the father of spirits (Rom. i, 11, 12; 1 Cor. xvi, 12). Paul discerned his calling to go to Rome by his τὸ πρόθυμον, his ready inclination to that voyage; and Apollos his loathing to go to Corinth Paul accepted as a just reason of his refusal of a calling to go thither. And this holdeth when, in a man's inclination to travail, his heart is set by no by-respects, as to see fashions, to deceive his creditors, to fight duels, or to live idly, these are vain inclinations; but if his heart be inclined upon right judgment to advance the gospel, to maintain his family, to use his talents fruitfully, or the like good end, this inclination is from God. As the beams of the moon darting into the sea leads it to and fro, so doth a secret inclination darted by God into our hearts lead and bow (as a bias) our whole course.

Secondly, when God gives other men hearts to call us, as the men of Macedon did Paul, Come to us into Macedonia and help us. When we are invited by others who have a good calling to reside there, we may go with them unless we be detained by weightier occasions. One member hath interest in another, to call to it for help, when it is not diverted by greater employment.

Thirdly, there is another providence of God concurring in both these, that is, when a man's calling and person is free, and not tied by parents, or magistrates, or other people that have interest in him. Or, when abroad, he may do himself

and others more good than he can do at home. Here is then an eye of God that opens a door there, and sets him loose here, inclines his heart that way, and outlooks all difficulties. When God makes room for us, no binding here, and an open way there, in such a case God tells them he will appoint a place for them.

Verse 2. Secondly, this may teach us in every place where God appoints us to sit down, to acknowledge him as our landlord. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; his are our countries, our towns, our houses; and therefore let us acknowledge him in them all. The Apostle makes this use of it among the Athenians (Acts xvii, 26, 27), He hath appointed the times and places of our habitation; that we might seek and grope after the Lord. There is a threefold use that we are to make of it, as it appeareth there. Let us seek after the Lord,— why? Because if thou comest into an house thou wilt ask for the owner of it; and so, if thou comest into a foreign land, and there findest an house and land provided for thee, wilt thou not inquire, Where is the landlord? where is that God that gave me this house and land? He is missing, and therefore seek after him.

Secondly, thou must feel after him, grope after him by such sensible things, strive to attain the favor of your landlord, and labor to be obedient to him that hath given you such a place.

Thirdly, you must labor to find him in his ordinances, in prayer, and in Christian communion. These things I owe him as my landlord, and by these I find and enjoy him. This use the very pagans were to make of their several plantations. And if you knew him before, seek him yet more, and feel after him till you find him in his ordinances and in your consciences.

Verse 3. Thirdly, when you have found God making way and room for you, and carrying you by his providence into any place, learn to walk thankfully before him, defraud him not of his rent, but offer yourselves unto his service. Serve that God, and teach your children to serve him, that hath appointed you and them the place of your habitation.

2. Observation. A people of God's plantation shall enjoy their own place with safety and peace.

This is manifest in the text. I will plant them, and what follows from thence? They shall dwell in their own place. But how? Peaceably, they shall not be moved any more. Then they shall dwell safely, then they shall live in peace. The like promise you read of in Ps. lxxxix, 21, 22, The enemy shall not exact upon them any more. And in Ps. xcii, 13, Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. God's plantation is a flourishing plantation (Amos ix, 15).

Q. What is it for God to plant a people?

Ans. It is a metaphor taken from young Impes. I will plant them, that is, I will make them to take root there; and that is, where they and their soil agree well together, when they are well and sufficiently provided for, as a plant sucks nourishment from the soil that fitteth it.

Secondly, When he causeth them to grow as plants do, in Ps. lxxx, 8-11. When a man grows like a tree in tallness and strength, to more firmness and eminency, then he may be said to be planted.

Thirdly, When God causeth them to fructify (Ps. i, 5).

Fourthly, When he establisheth them there, then he plants and roots not up.

But here is something more especial in this planting; for they were planted before in this land, and yet he promiseth

here again that he will plant them in their own land; which doth imply, first, That whatever former good estate they had already, he would prosper it and increase it.

Secondly, God is said to plant a people more especially when they become trees of righteousness (Is. lxi, 3), that they may be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord. So that there is implied not only a continuance of their former good estate, but that he would make them a good people, a choice generation: which he did, first, by planting the ordinances of God among them in a more glorious manner, as he did in Solomon's time.

2. He would give his people a nail, and a place in his tabernacle (Is. lvi, 5). And that is to give us part in Christ; for so the temple typified. So, then, he plants us when he gives us root in Christ.

Thirdly, When he giveth us to grow up in him as calves in the stall (Mal. iv, 2, 3).

Fourthly, And to bring forth much fruit (John xv, 1, 2).

Fifthly, And to continue and abide in the state of grace. This is to plant us in his holy sanctuary, he not rooting us up.

Reasons. This is taken from the kind acceptance of David's purpose to build God an house, because he saw it was done in the honesty of his heart, therefore he promiseth to give his people a place wherein they should abide forever as in a house of rest.

Secondly, It is taken from the office God takes upon him, when he is our planter, he becomes our husbandman; and if he plant us who shall pluck us up? (Is. xxvii, 1, 2; Job xxxiv, 29). When he giveth quiet, who can make trouble? If God be the gardner, who shall pluck up what he sets down? Every plantation that he hath not planted shall be plucked up, and what he hath planted shall surely be established.

Thirdly, From the nature of the blessing he confers upon us. When he promiseth to plant a people, their days shall be as the days of a tree (Is. lxv, 22). As the oak is said to be an hundred years in growing, and an hundred years in full strength, and an hundred years in decaying.

Q. But it may be demanded, how was this promise fulfilled by the people, seeing after this time they met with many persecutions at home and abroad, many sources of wickedness afflicted them. Jeroboam was a son of wickedness, and so was Ahab, and Ahaz, and divers others.

Ans. Because, after David's time, they had more settledness than before.

Secondly, to the godly these promises were fulfilled in Christ.

Thirdly, though this promise was made that others should not wrong them, yet it follows not but that they might wrong themselves by trespassing against God, and so expose themselves to affliction. Whilst they continued God's plantation, they were a noble vine, a right seed, but if Israel will destroy themselves the fault is in themselves. And yet, even in their captivity, the good among them God graciously provided for. The basket of good figs God sent into the land of Chaldea for their good (Jer. xxiv, 5). But if you rebel against God, the same God that planted you will also root you out again, for all the evil which you shall do against yourselves (Jer. xi, 17). When the Israelites liked not the soil, grew weary of the ordinances, and forsook the worship of God, and said, What part have we in David? after this they never got so good a king, nor any settled rest in the good land wherein God had planted them. As they waxed weary of God, so he waxed weary of them and cast them out of his sight.

Verse 1. To exhort all that are planted at home, or intend to plant abroad, to look well to your plantation, as you desire that the sons of wickedness may not afflict you at home, nor enemies abroad, look that you be right planted, and then you need not to fear, you are safe enough. God hath spoken it, I will plant them, and they shall not be moved, neither shall the sons of wickedness afflict them any more.

Q. What course would you have us take?

Ans. Have special care that you ever have the ordinances planted among you, or else never look for security. As soon as God's ordinances cease, your security ceaseth likewise; but if God plant his ordinances among you, fear not, he will maintain them (Is. iv, 5, 6). Upon all their glory there shall be a defence; that is, upon all God's ordinances: for so was the ark called the glory of Israel (1 Sam. iv, 22).

Secondly, have a care to be implanted into the ordinances, that the word may be engrafted into you, and you into it. If you take rooting in the ordinances, grow up thereby, bring forth much fruit, continue and abide therein, then you are vineyard of red wine, and the Lord will keep you, (Is. xxvii, 2, 3), that no sons of violence shall destroy you. Look into all the stories, whether divine or human, and you shall never find that God ever rooted out a people that had the ordinances planted among them, and themselves planted into the ordinances; never did God suffer such plants to be plucked up; on all their glory shall be a defence.

Thirdly, be not unmindful of our Jerusalem at home, whether you leave us or stay at home with us. Oh, pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love her (Ps. cxxii, 6). They shall all be confounded and turned back that hate Sion (Ps. cxxix, 5). As God continueth his pres-

ence with us (blessed be his name), so be ye present in spirit with us, though absent in body. Forget not the womb that bare you and the breast that gave you suck. Even ducklings hatched under a hen, though they take the water, yet will still have recourse to the wing that hatched them: how much more should chickens of the same feather and yolk? In the amity and unity of brethren the Lord hath not only promised, but commanded a blessing, even life forevermore (Ps. cxxxiii, 1, 2).

Fourthly, go forth, every man that goeth, with a public spirit, looking not on your own things only, but also on the things of others (Phil. ii, 4). This care of universal helpfulness was the prosperity of the first plantation of the primitive Church (Acts iv, 32).

Fifthly, have a tender care that you look well to the plants that spring from you, that is, to your children, that they do not degenerate as the Israelites did; after which they were vexed with afflictions on every hand. How came this to pass? Jer. ii, 21: I planted them a noble vine, holy, a right seed, how then art thou degenerate into a strange vine before me? Your ancestors were of a noble, divine spirit, but if they suffer their children to degenerate, to take loose courses, then God will surely pluck you up. Otherwise if men have a care to propagate the ordinances and religion to their children after them, God will plant them and not root them up. For want of this the seed of the repenting Ninevites was rooted out.

Sixthly, and lastly, offend not the poor natives, but, as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith; as you reap their temporals, so feed them with your spirituals: win them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. They never yet refused the gospel, and

therefore more hope they will now receive it. Who knoweth whether God have reared this whole plantation for such an end:

Verse 2. Secondly, for consolation to them that are planted by God in any place, that find rooting and establishing from God, this is a cause of much encouragement unto you, that what he hath planted he will maintain, every plantation his right hand hath not planted shall be rooted up, but his own plantation shall prosper and flourish. When he promiseth peace and safety, what enemies shall be able to make the promise of God of none effect? Neglect not walls, and bulwarks, and fortifications for your own defence; but ever let the name of the Lord be your strong tower, and the word of his promise the rock of your refuge. His word that made heaven and earth will not fail till heaven and earth be no more. Amen.

WINTHROP

JOHN WINTHROP, a distinguished colonial governor of Massachusetts, was born at Edwardston, near Groton, Suffolk, England, January 22, 1588. He was educated at Trinity College and made some study of law before settling down upon his estates at Groton. A Puritan by conviction, he soon acquired so great an influence among the Puritans at home and in New England that in October, 1629, he was chosen governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and set sail thither the next spring in the "Arbella," at the head of a fleet of eleven ships, in which were some nine hundred colonists. On the voyage he wrote a small treatise entitled "A Model of Christian Charity," and began a journal of daily events which, with various breaks, was continued until within a few weeks of his death. This journal, which forms a faithful record of colonial happenings, was edited by James Savage in 1825-26, and published as "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649." Winthrop was governor from 1629 to 1634, and again 1637-40; 1642-44; and 1646, till his death at Boston, March 26, 1649. A man of learning, dignity, and great self-poise, he exercised a beneficent influence upon the colony in its early years. What has generally been called the "impeachment" of Governor Winthrop was a memorable occasion in the history of the colony and in Winthrop's personal career. There is no narrative of the circumstances of the case, except that which he has left in his own history. The whole account is in Winthrop's best style, and is replete with characteristic observations and incidents. The occurrence out of which the affair grew was, indeed, most trifling in its original aspect. The question whether Anthony Eames or Bozoun Allen should be the captain of a militia company in the town of Hingham seems by no means important enough to have set the colony in a blaze and to have occupied the whole of an unusually protracted session of the General Court. In 1869 his essay on "Arbitrary Government, and the Government of Massachusetts Vindicated from that Aspersion," was printed from his manuscript for the first time.

"LITTLE SPEECH" ON LIBERTY

[Winthrop styles this his "little speech;" but few speeches of that period or, indeed, of any other period, have obtained a wider celebrity in history. "The circumstances in which this address was delivered," says James Grahame, "recall the most interesting scenes of Greek and Roman history; while in the wisdom, piety, and dignity that it breathes it resembles the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Winthrop was not only acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so prevailingly to the esteem of his fellow citizens by this and all the other indications of his character that he was chosen governor of Massachusetts every year after as long as he lived."]

I SUPPOSE something may be expected from me upon this charge that has befallen me, which moves me to speak now to you; yet I intend not to intermeddle in the proceedings of the court or with any of the persons concerned therein. Only I bless God that I see an issue of this troublesome business. I also acknowledge the justice of the court, and for mine own part I am well satisfied. I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire. And though this be sufficient for my justification before men, yet not so before the God who hath seen so much amiss in my dispensations (and even in this affair) as calls me to be humble.

For to be publicly and criminally charged in this court is matter of humiliation (and I desire to make a right use of it), notwithstanding I be thus acquitted. If her father had spit in her face (saith the Lord concerning Miriam), should she not have been ashamed seven days? Shame had lien upon her, whatever the occasion had been. I am unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us.

The great questions that have troubled the country are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and, being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance.

I entreat you to consider that, when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to

like passions as you are. Therefore, when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others.

We account him a good servant who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness; for it is his profession, and you pay him for both. But when you call one to be a magistrate he doth not profess or undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists: it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the

most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores.* This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it.

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet, being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if, through forwardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the

other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us.

Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

ELIOT

SIR JOHN ELIOT, an English statesman, was born at Port Eliot, Cornwall, April 20, 1592. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and entered Parliament in 1614 as member for St. Germans. He was knighted in 1618, and, through the influence of Buckingham, became vice-admiral of Devon in 1619. He sat in Parliament in 1624 as member for Newport, and was known as a favorite of Buckingham, with whose warlike policy against Spain he fully sympathized. Eliot's firm belief in Parliamentary privilege soon brought him into opposition to Buckingham, who stoutly supported the royal prerogatives and who at length became his former favorite's bitter adversary. Eliot upheld the proceedings against Buckingham during his trial in 1626, and denounced him in an eloquent speech for which he was sent to the Tower, where, however, he was imprisoned but for eight days. In 1628 he spoke against the royal taxations and actively supported the Petition of Right. In March of the year following, when the king commanded the House of Commons to adjourn, the Speaker was forcibly held down in his chair while Eliot's resolutions respecting parliamentary rights were passed. Eliot and eight others were sent to the Tower in consequence of this, and there Eliot died of consumption, November 27, 1632. As an orator he exhibited much force and enthusiasm, but was not an especially logical thinker. During his imprisonment he wrote an account of the first Parliament of Charles I, called "Negotium Posterorum;" and a political treatise, "The Monarchy of Man." These, with "An Apology for Socrates," a vindication of himself; "De Jure Majestatis, a Political Treatise of Government;" and the "Letter-Book of Sir John Eliot," were first published two hundred and fifty years after his death.

SPEECH ON THE PETITION OF RIGHT

[The Petition of Right provided, that no loan or tax might be levied but by consent of Parliament; that no man might be imprisoned but by legal process; that soldiers might not be quartered on people contrary to their wills; and that no commissions be granted for executing martial law. On the 2d of June, 1628, Charles returned an evasive answer to this petition, in which he endeavored to satisfy the Commons without giving a legal and binding assent to their demands. The next day Sir John Eliot made the following speech. It breathes throughout that spirit of affection and reverence for the King's person which was still felt by both houses of Parliament. It does not dwell, therefore, on those recent acts of arbitrary power in which the King might be supposed to have reluctantly concurred. The entire speech was directed against the royal favorite, the Duke of Buckingham.]

MR. SPEAKER,— We sit here as the great Council of the King, and in that capacity it is our duty to take into consideration the state and affairs of the kingdom, and, when there is occasion, to give a true representation of them by way of counsel and advice, with what we conceive necessary or expedient to be done.

In this consideration I confess many a sad thought hath affrighted me, and that not only in respect of our dangers from abroad (which yet I know are great, as they have been often pressed and dilated to us), but in respect of our disorders here at home, which do enforce those dangers, and by which they are occasioned. For I believe I shall make it clear to you that both at first, the cause of these dangers were our disorders, and our disorders now are yet our greatest dangers; that not so much the potency of our enemies as the weakness of ourselves doth threaten us: so that the saying of one of the Fathers may be assumed by us, "*non tam potentia sua quam negligentiâ nostra*," "not so much by their power as by our neglect." Our want of true devotion to heaven; our insincerity and doubling in religion; our want of councils; our precipitate actions; the insufficiency or unfaithfulness of our generals abroad; the ignorance or corruption of our ministers at home; the impoverishing of the sovereign; the oppression and depression of the subject; the exhausting of our treasures; the waste of our provisions; consumption of our ships; destruction of our men,— these make the advantage to our enemies, not the reputation of their arms; and if in these there be not reformation, we need no foes abroad: Time itself will ruin us.

To show this more fully, I believe you will all hold it necessary that what I say should not seem an aspersion on the state or imputation on the government, as I have known such

motions misinterpreted. But far is this from me to propose, who have none but clear thoughts of the excellency of the King; nor can I have other ends but the advancement of his Majesty's glory. I shall desire a little of your patience extraordinary, as I lay open the particulars, which I shall do with what brevity I may, answerable to the importance of the cause and the necessity now upon us; yet with such respect and observation to the time as I hope it shall not be thought troublesome.

For the first, then, our insincerity and doubling in religion is the greatest and most dangerous disorder of all others. This hath never been unpunished; and of this we have many strong examples of all states and in all times to awe us. What testimony doth it want? Will you have authority of books? Look on the collections of the Committee for Religion; there is too clear an evidence. See there the commission procured for composition with the papists of the north! Mark the proceedings thereupon, and you will find them to little less amounting than a toleration in effect: the slight payments, and the easiness of them, will likewise show the favor that is intended. Will you have proofs of men? Witness the hopes, witness the presumptions, witness the reports of all the papists generally. Observe the dispositions of commanders, the trust of officers, the confidence in secretaries to employments in this kingdom, in Ireland, and elsewhere. These will all show that it hath too great a certainty. And to this add but the incontrovertible evidence of that All-powerful Hand which we have felt so sorely, that gave it full assurance; for as the heavens oppose themselves to our impiety so it is we that first opposed the heavens.

For the second, our want of councils, that great disorder in a state under which there cannot be stability. If effects

may show their causes (as they are often a perfect demonstration of them), our misfortunes, our disasters serve to prove our deficiencies in council and the consequences they draw with them. If reason be allowed in this dark age, the judgment of dependencies and foresight of contingencies in affairs do confirm my position. For, if we view ourselves at home, are we in strength, are we in reputation, equal to our ancestors? If we view ourselves abroad, are our friends as many? are our enemies no more? Do our friends retain their safety and possessions? Do not our enemies enlarge themselves, and gain from them and us? To what council owe we the loss of the Palatinate, where we sacrificed both our honor and our men sent thither, stopping those greater powers appointed for the service, by which it might have been defended? What council gave direction to the late action, whose wounds are yet bleeding, I mean the expedition to Rhé, of which there is yet so sad a memory in all men? What design for us, or advantage to our state, could that impart.

You know the wisdom of your ancestors, and the practice of their times, how they preserved their safeties. We all know, and have as much cause to doubt [that is, distrust or guard against] as they had, the greatness and ambition of that kingdom, which the Old World could not satisfy. Against this greatness and ambition we likewise know the proceedings of that princess, that never-to-be-forgotten, excellent Queen Elizabeth, whose name, without admiration, falls not into mention even with her enemies. You know how she advanced herself, and how she advanced the nation in glory and in state; how she depressed her enemies, and how she upheld her friends; how she enjoyed a full security, and made those our scorn who now are made our terror.

Some of the principles she built on were these; and, if I mistake, let reason and our statesmen contradict me.

First, to maintain, in what she might, a unity in France, that the kingdom, being at peace within itself, might be a bulwark to keep back the power of Spain by land.

Next, to preserve an amity and league between that state and us, that so we might come in aid of the Low Countries and by that means receive their ships, and help them by sea.

This triple cord, so working between France, the States [Holland], and England, might enable us, as occasion should require, to give assistance unto others. And by this means, as the experience of that time doth tell us, we were not only free from those fears that now possess and trouble us, but then our names were fearful to our enemies. See now what correspondency our action had with this. Try our conduct by these rules. It did induce, as a necessary consequence, a division in France between the Protestants and their king, of which there is too woful and lamentable experience. It hath made an absolute breach between that state and us, and so entertains us against France, and France in preparation against us, that we have nothing to promise to our neighbors, nay, hardly to ourselves. Next, observe the time in which it was attempted, and you shall find it not only varying from those principles, but directly contrary and opposite to those ends; and such as, from the issue and success, rather might be thought a conception of Spain than begotten here with us.

[Here there was an interruption made by Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy and of the Privy Council, expressing a dislike; but the House ordered Sir John Eliot to go on, whereupon he proceeded thus:]

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry for this interruption, but much more sorry if there hath been occasion on my part. And,

as I shall submit myself wholly to your judgment, to receive what censure you may give me, if I have offended, so, in the integrity of my intentions and the clearness of my thoughts I must still retain this confidence that no greatness shall deter me from the duties I owe to the service of my king and country; but that with a true English heart I shall discharge myself as faithfully and as really, to the extent of my poor power, as any man whose honors or whose offices most strictly oblige him.

You know the dangers of Denmark, and how much they concern us; what in respect of our alliance and the country; what in the importance of the Sound; what an advantage to our enemies the gain thereof would be! What loss, what prejudice to us by this disunion; we breaking in upon France, France enraged by us, and the Netherlands at amazement between both! Neither could we intend to aid that luckless king [Christian IV, of Denmark] whose loss is our disaster.

Can those [the King's ministers] that express their trouble at the hearing of these things, and have so often told us in this place of their knowledge in the conjunctures and disjunctures of affairs,— can they say they advised in this? Was this an act of council, Mr. Speaker? I have more charity than to think it; and unless they make confession of it themselves I cannot believe it.

For the next, the insufficiency and unfaithfulness of our generals (that great disorder abroad), what shall I say? I wish there were not cause to mention it; and, but for the apprehension of the danger that is to come, if the like choice hereafter be not prevented, I could willingly be silent. But my duty to my sovereign, my service to this House, and the safety and honor of my country, are above all respects; and

what so nearly trenches to the prejudice of these must not, shall not be forborne.

At Cadiz, then, in that first expedition we made, when we arrived and found a conquest ready — the Spanish ships, I mean, fit for the satisfaction of a voyage, and of which some of the chiefest then there themselves have since assured me that the satisfaction would have been sufficient either in point or honor or in point of profit,— why was it neglected? Why was it not achieved, it being granted on all hands how feasible it was?

Afterward, when, with the destruction of some of our men and the exposure of others, who (though their fortune since has not been such) by chance came off safe,— when, I say, with the loss of our serviceable men, that unserviceable fort was gained, and the whole army landed, why was there nothing done? Why was there nothing attempted? If nothing was intended, wherefore did they land? If there was a service, wherefore were they shipped again? Mr. Speaker, it satisfies me too much [that is, I am oversatisfied] in this case — when I think of their dry and hungry march into that drunken quarter (for so the soldiers termed it), which was the period of their journey,— that divers of our men being left as a sacrifice to the enemy, that labor was at an end.

For the next undertaking at Rhé I will not trouble you much; only this, in short. Was not that whole action carried against the judgment and opinion of those officers that were of the council? Was not the first, was not the last, was not all in the landing — in the intrenching — in the continuance there — in the assault — in the retreat — without their assent? Did any advice take place of such as were of the council? If there should be made a particular inquisi-

tion thereof, these things will be manifest and more. I will not instance the manifesto that was made, giving the reason of these arms; nor by whom, nor in what manner, nor on what grounds it was published, nor what effects it hath wrought, drawing, as it were, almost the whole world into league against us. Nor will I mention the leaving of the wines, the leaving of the salt, which were in our possession, and of a value, as it is said, to answer much of our expense. Nor will I dwell on that great wonder (which no Alexander or Cæsar ever did), the enriching of the enemy by courtesies when our soldiers wanted help; nor the private intercourse and parleys with the fort, which were continually held. What they intended may be read in the success; and upon due examination thereof they would not want their proofs.

For the last voyage to Rochelle there need no observations, it is so fresh in the memory; nor will I make an inference or corollary on all. Your own knowledge shall judge what truth or what sufficiency they express.

For the next, the ignorance and corruption of our ministers, where can you miss of instances? If you survey the court, if you survey the country; if the church, if the city be examined; if you observe the bar, if the bench, if the ports, if the shipping, if the land, if the seas,— all these will render you variety of proofs; and that in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of our disease to be such that, if there be not some speedy application for remedy, our case is almost desperate.

Mr. Speaker, I fear I have been too long in these particulars that are past, and am unwilling to offend you: therefore in the rest I shall be shorter; and as to that which concerns the impoverishing of the King no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant.

The exchequer, you know, is empty, and the reputation thereof gone; the ancient lands are sold; the jewels pawned; the plate engaged; the debts still great; almost all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, borne up by projects! What poverty can be greater? What necessity so great? What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for this truth?

For the oppression of the subject, which, as I remember, is the next particular I proposed, it needs no demonstration. The whole kingdom is a proof; and for the exhausting of our treasures, that very oppression speaks it. What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men there hath been; witness that expedition to Algiers; witness that with Mansfeldt; witness that to Cadiz; witness the next; witness that to Rhé; witness the last (I pray God we may never have more such witnesses); witness, likewise, the Palatinate; witness Denmark; witness the Turks; witness the Dunkirkers,— witness all! What losses we have sustained! How we are impaired in munitions, in ships, in men!

It is beyond contradiction that we were never so much weakened nor ever had less hope how to be restored.

These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers, these are they who do threaten us; and these are, like the Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do lurk the strongest of our enemies, ready to issue on us; and, if we do not speedily expel them, these are the signs, these the invitations to others! These will so prepare their entrance, that we shall have no means left of refuge or defence; for, if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad? If we be free from these, no other can impeach us. Our ancient English virtue (like the old Spartan valor),

cleared from these disorders,— our being in sincerity of religion and once made friends with heaven; having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the King, liberty in the people, repletion in treasure, plenty of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men,— our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us; and unless there be a speedy reformation in these I know not what hopes or expectations we can have.

These are the things, sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration; that as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the King; which I conceive we are bound to do by a triple obligation — of duty to God, of duty to his Majesty, and of duty to our country.

And therefore I wish it may so stand with the wisdom and judgment of the House, that these things may be drawn into the body of a remonstrance, and in all humility expressed, with a prayer to his Majesty that, for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, and for the safety of religion, he will be pleased to give us time to make perfect inquisition thereof, or to take them into his own wisdom and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity and justice of the case doth import.

And thus, sir, with a large affection and loyalty to his Majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly (and it may be with some disorder) expressed the weak apprehensions I have; wherein if I have erred, I humbly crave your pardon, and so submit myself to the censure of the House.

EARL OF STRAFFORD

THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earl of Strafford, a celebrated English statesman, was born in London, April 13, 1593. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and after a year on the Continent returned to England and was knighted by James I. In the next year, 1614, he succeeded to the family estates by the death of his father and entered Parliament as member for Yorkshire. He was again returned in 1621 and at this time seems to have sympathized to some extent with the Puritans. During the first and second Parliaments of Charles his friendship for the popular cause grew more marked, and when the third Parliament opened Wentworth was especially active in opposition to the royal demands and with Pym supported the Petition of Right. In 1628, however, he was created Baron Wentworth and went over to the royal side. The next year saw him made privy councillor, and in 1633 he become Lord Deputy of Ireland. His rule in Ireland was harsh and despotic, and he was styled the "Wicked Earl" by the Irish people. In January, 1640, he was created Earl of Strafford, and, being advanced to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, raised an army there to aid against the Scots. On November 11 as he entered Parliament to take his seat in the House of Lords, he was impeached by Pym and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. He defended himself so ably during his trial that the Commons abandoned the impeachment and passed a bill of attainder against him. The Peers were effectually overawed by the Commons, and, Charles at length reluctantly giving his assent to the demand for Strafford's death, the Earl was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 12, 1641. On the accession of Charles II the bill of attainder was revoked and the Wentworth estates were allowed to descend to the Earl's son. Strafford's most famous speech was delivered on April 2, 1641. His "Letters and Dispatches" first appeared in 1739.

SPEECH BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS, APRIL 13, 1641

[During eighteen days Strafford stood alone against his numerous accusers, answering in succession the twenty-eight articles of the impeachment, examining the witnesses, commenting on their evidence, explaining, defending, palliating his conduct on every point with an adroitness and force, a dignity and self-possession, which awakened the admiration even of his enemies. On the last day of the trial he summed up his various defences in a speech of which the report given below is only an imperfect outline. It possesses, however, the elements of the highest class of oratory and enables the reader to form some idea of the eloquence and pathos of this extraordinary man.]

MY LORDS,—This day I stand before you charged with high treason. The burden of the charge is heavy, yet far the more so because it hath borrowed the authority of the House of Commons. If they were not

interested I might expect a no less easy than I do a safe issue. But let neither my weakness plead my innocence nor their power my guilt. If your Lordships will conceive of my defences as they are in themselves, without reference to either party,— and I shall endeavor so to present them,— I hope to go hence as clearly justified by you as I now am in the testimony of a good conscience by myself.

My lords, I have all along, during this charge, watched to see that poisoned arrow of treason which some men would fain have feathered in my heart; but in truth it hath not been my quickness to discover any such evil yet within my breast, though now, perhaps, by sinister information, sticking to my clothes.

They tell me of a twofold treason, one against the statute, another by the common law; this direct, that consecutive; this individual, that accumulative; this in itself, that by way of construction.

As to this charge of treason, I must and do acknowedge that if I had the least suspicion of my own guilt I would save your lordships the pains. I would cast the first stone. I would pass the first sentence of condemnation against myself. And whether it be so or not, I now refer to your lordships' judgment and deliberation. You, and you only, under the care and protection of my gracious master, are my judges. Under favor, none of the Commons are my peers, nor can they be my judges. I shall ever celebrate the providence and wisdom of your noble ancestors, who have put the keys of life and death, so far as concerns you and your posterity, into your own hands. None but your own selves, my lords, know the rate of your noble blood: none but yourselves must hold the balance in disposing of the same.

I shall now proceed in repeating my defences as they are reducible to the two main points of treason. And,

I. For treason against the statute, which is the only treason in effect, there is nothing alleged for that but the fifteenth, twenty-second, and twenty-seventh articles.

[Here the Earl brought forward the replies which he had previously made to these articles, which contained all the charges of individual acts of treason. The fifteenth article affirmed that he had "inverted the ordinary course of justice in Ireland, and given immediate sentence upon the lands and goods of the King's subjects, under pretence of disobedience; had used a military way for redressing the contempt, and laid soldiers upon the lands and goods of the King's subjects, to their utter ruin." There was a deficiency of proofs as to the facts alleged. The Earl declared that "the customs of England differed exceedingly from those of Ireland; and therefore, though *cessing* of men might seem strange here, it was not so there;" and that "nothing was more common there than for the governors to appoint soldiers to put all manner of sentences into execution," as he proved by the testimony of Lord Dillon, Sir Adam Loftus, and Sir Arthur Teringham.

[The twenty-seventh article charged him with having, as lieutenant-general, charged on the county of York eightpence a day for supporting the train-bands of said county during one month, when called out; and having issued his warrants without legal authority for the collection of the same. The Earl replied that "this money was freely and voluntarily offered by them of Yorkshire, in a petition; and that he had done nothing but on the petition of the county, the King's special command, and the connivance, at least, of the Great Council, and upon a present necessity for the defence and safety of the county, when about to be invaded from Scotland."

[The twenty-second and twenty-third articles were the most pressing. Under these he was charged with saying in the Privy Council that "the Parliament had forsaken the King; that the King ought not to suffer himself to be over-

mastered by the stubbornness of the people; and that, if his Majesty pleased to employ forces, he had some in Ireland that might serve to reduce this kingdom," thus counselling to his Majesty to put down Parliament and subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom by force and arms. To this the Earl replied: (1) That there was only one witness adduced to prove these words, namely, Sir Henry Vane, secretary to the Council, but that two or more witnesses are necessary by statute to prove a charge of treason; (2) that the others who were present, namely, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Cottington, and Sir Thomas Lucas, did not, as they deposed under oath, remember these words; (3) that Sir Henry Vane had given his testimony as if he was in doubt on the subject, saying "as I do remember," and "such or such like words," which admitted the words might be "that kingdom," meaning Scotland.]

II. As to the other kind, namely, constructive treason, or treason by way of accumulation: to make this out, many articles have been brought against me, as if in a heap of mere felonies or misdemeanors (for they reach no higher) there could lurk some prolific seed to produce what is treasonable! But, my lords, when a thousand misdemeanors will not make one felony, shall twenty-eight misdemeanors be heightened into treason?

I pass, however, to consider these charges, which affirm that I have designed the overthrow both of religion and of the state.

1. The first charge seemeth to be used rather to make me odious than guilty; for there is not the least proof alleged — nor could there be any — concerning my confederacy with the popish faction. Never was a servant in authority under my lord and master more hated and maligned by these men than myself, and that for an impartial and strict execution of the laws against them; for observe, my lords, that the greater number of the witnesses against

me, whether from Ireland or from Yorkshire, were of that religion. But for my own resolution I thank God I am ready every hour of the day to seal my dissatisfaction to the Church of Rome with my dearest blood.

Give me leave, my lords, here to pour forth the grief of my soul before you. These proceedings against me seem to be exceeding rigorous, and to have more of prejudice than equity — that upon a supposed charge of hypocrisy or errors in religion I should be made so odious to three kingdoms. A great many thousand eyes have seen my accusations whose ears will never hear that when it came to the upshot those very things were not alleged against me! Is this fair dealing among Christians? But I have lost nothing by that. Popular applause was ever nothing in my conceit. The uprightness and integrity of a good conscience ever was, and ever shall be, my continual feast; and if I can be justified in your lordships' judgments from this great imputation — as I hope I am, seeing these gentlemen have thrown down the bucklers — I shall account myself justified by the whole kingdom, because absolved by you, who are the better part, the very soul and life of the kingdom.

2. As for my designs against the State, I dare plead as much innocency as in the matter of religion. I have ever admired the wisdom of our ancestors, who have so fixed the pillars of this monarchy that each of them keeps a due proportion and measure with the others; have so admirably bound together the nerves and sinews of the State, that the straining of any one may bring danger and sorrow to the whole economy. The prerogative of the Crown and the propriety of the subject have such natural relations that this takes nourishment from that, and that foundation and nourishment from this. And so, as in the lute, if any one string be

wound up too high or too low, you have lost the whole harmony; so here the excess of prerogative is oppression, of pretended liberty in the subject is disorder and anarchy. The prerogative must be used as God doth his omnipotence, upon extraordinary occasions; the laws must have place at all other times. As there must be prerogative because there must be extraordinary occasions, so the propriety of the subject is ever to be maintained if it go in equal pace with the other. They are fellows and companions that are, and ever must be, inseparable in a well-ordered kingdom; and no way is so fitting, so natural to nourish and entertain both, as the frequent use of Parliaments, by which a commerce and acquaintance is kept up between the King and his subjects.

These thoughts have gone along with me these fourteen years of my public employments, and shall, God willing, go with me to the grave! God, his Majesty, and my own conscience, yea, and all of those who have been most accessary to my inward thoughts, can bear me witness that I ever did inculcate this, that the happiness of a kingdom doth consist in a just poise of the King's prerogative and the subject's liberty, and that things could never go well till these went hand in hand together. I thank God for it, by my master's favor and the providence of my ancestors, I have an estate which so interests me in the commonwealth that I have no great mind to be a slave but a subject. Nor could I wish the cards to be shuffled over again, in hopes to fall upon a better set; nor did I ever nourish such base and mercenary thoughts as to become a pander to the tyranny and ambition of the greatest man living. No! I have, and ever shall, aim at a fair but bounded liberty; remembering always that I am a freeman, yet a subject; that I have rights, but under a monarch. It hath been my misfortune, now when I am gray-

headed, to be charged by the mistakers of the times, who are so highly bent that all appears to them to be in the extreme for monarchy which is not for themselves. Hence it is that designs, words, yea, intentions, are brought out as demonstrations of my misdemeanors. Such a multiplying-glass is a prejudicate opinion!

The articles against me refer to expressions and actions,— my expressions either in Ireland or in England, my actions either before or after these late stirs.

1. Some of the expressions referred to were uttered in private, and I do protest against their being drawn to my injury in this place. If, my lords, words spoken to friends in familiar discourse; spoken at one's table; spoken in one's chamber; spoken in one's sick-bed; spoken, perhaps, to gain better reason, to gain one's self more clear light and judgment by reasoning,— if these things shall be brought against a man as treason, this (under favor) takes away the comfort of all human society. By this means we shall be debarred from speaking — the principal joy and comfort of life — with wise and good men, to become wiser and better ourselves. If these things be strained to take away life, and honor, and all that is desirable, this will be a silent world! A city will become a hermitage, and sheep will be found among a crowd and press of people! No man will dare to impart his solitary thoughts or opinions to his friend and neighbor!

Other expressions have been urged against me, which were used in giving counsel to the King. My lords, these words were not wantonly or unnecessarily spoken, or whispered in a corner; they were spoken in full council, when, by the duty of my oath, I was obliged to speak according to my heart and conscience in all things concerning the King's service. If I

had forborne to speak what I conceived to be for the benefit of the King and the people, I had been perjured toward Almighty God. And for delivering my mind openly and freely, shall I be in danger of my life as a traitor? If that necessity be put upon me, I thank God, by his blessing, I have learned not to stand in fear of him who can only kill the body. If the question be whether I must be traitor to man or perjured to God, I will be faithful to my Creator. And whatsoever shall befall me from popular rage or my own weakness, I must leave it to that Almighty Being and to the justice and honor of my judges.

My lords, I conjure you not to make yourselves so unhappy as to disable your lordships and your children from undertaking the great charge and trust of this commonwealth. You inherit that trust from your fathers. You are born to great thoughts. You are nursed for the weighty employments of the kingdom. But if it be once admitted that a counsellor, for delivering his opinion with others at the council board, *candidè et castè*, with candor and purity of motive, under an oath of secrecy and faithfulness, shall be brought into question, upon some misapprehension or ignorance of law,— if every word that he shall speak from sincere and noble intentions shall be drawn against him for the attainting of him, his children and posterity,— I know not (under favor I speak it) any wise or noble person of fortune who will, upon such perilous and unsafe terms, adventure to be counsellor to the King. Therefore I beseech your lordships so to look on me that my misfortune may not bring an inconvenience to yourselves. And though my words were not so advised and discreet, or so well weighed as they ought to have been, yet I trust your lordships are too honorable and just to lay them to my charge as high treason.

Opinions may make a heretic, but that they make a traitor I have never heard till now.

2. I am come next to speak of the actions which have been charged upon me.

[Here the Earl went through with the various overt acts alleged, and repeated the sum and heads of what had been spoken by him before. In respect to the twenty-eighth article, which charged him with "a malicious design to engage the kingdoms of England and Scotland in a national and bloody war," but which the managers had not urged in the trial, he added more at large, as follows:]

If that one article had been proved against me, it contained more weighty matter than all the charges besides. It would not only have been treason, but villainy, to have betrayed the trust of his Majesty's army. But as the managers have been sparing, by reason of the times, as to insisting on that article, I have resolved to keep the same method, and not utter the least expression which might disturb the happy agreement intended between the two kingdoms. I only admire how I, being an incendiary against the Scots in the twenty-third article, am become a confederate with them in the twenty-eighth article! how I could be charged for betraying Newcastle, and also for fighting with the Scots at Newburne, since fighting against them was no possible means of betraying the town into their hands, but rather to hinder their passage thither! I never advised war any further than, in my poor judgment, it concerned the very life of the King's authority and the safety and honor of his kingdom. Nor did I ever see that any advantage could be made by a war in Scotland, where nothing could be gained but hard blows. For my part, I honor that nation, but I wish they may ever be under their own climate. I

have no desire that they should be too well acquainted with the better soil of England.

My lords, you see what has been alleged for this constructive, or, rather, destructive treason. For my part, I have not the judgment to conceive that such treason is agreeable to the fundamental grounds either of reason or of law. Not of reason, for how can that be treason in the lump or mass which is not so in any of its parts? or how can that make a thing treasonable which is not so in itself? Not of law, since neither statute, common law, nor practice hath from the beginning of the government ever mentioned such a thing.

It is hard, my lords, to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown! Where hath this fire lain hid for so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children? My lords, do we not live under laws? and must we be punished by laws before they are made? Far better were it to live by no laws at all, but to be governed by those characters of virtue and discretion which nature hath stamped upon us, than to put this necessity of divination upon a man, and to accuse him of a breach of law before it is a law at all! If a waterman upon the Thames split his boat by grating upon an anchor, and the same have no buoy appended to it, the owner of the anchor is to pay the loss; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where is the token set upon the crime, to declare it to be high treason?

My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be something else than the lives and honor of peers! It will be wisdom

for yourselves and your posterity to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts; and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, which telleth what is and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. These gentlemen tell us that they speak in defence of the commonwealth against my arbitrary laws. Give me leave to say it, I speak in defence of the commonwealth against their arbitrary treason!

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime to this height before myself. Let us not awaken those sleeping lions, to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls for so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

My lords, what is my present misfortune may be forever yours! It is not the smallest part of my grief that not the crime of treason, but my other sins, which are exceeding many, have brought me to this bar; and, except your lordships' wisdom provide against it, the shedding of my blood may make way for the tracing out of yours. You, your estates, your posterity, lie at the stake!

For my poor self, if it were not for your lordships' interest, and the interest of a saint in heaven who hath left me here two pledges on earth [at this his breath stopped, and he shed tears abundantly in mentioning his wife], I should never take the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage of mine. It is loaded with such infirmities that in truth I have no great pleasure to carry it about with me any longer. Nor could I ever leave it at a fitter time than this, when I hope that the better part of the world would perhaps think that by my misfortunes I had given a testimony of my integrity to

my God, my King, and my country. I thank God I count not the afflictions of the present life to be compared to that glory which is to be revealed in the time to come!

My lords! my lords! my lords! something more I had intended to say, but my voice and my spirit fail me. Only I do in all humility and submission cast myself down at your lordships' feet and desire that I may be a beacon to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put such rocks in your own way, which no prudence, no circumspection can eschew or satisfy, but by your utter ruin!

And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit myself to your decision. And whether your judgment in my case — I wish it were not the case of you all — be for life or for death, it shall be righteous in my eyes and shall be received with a *Te Deum laudamus*,— we give God the praise.

SPEECH IN THE TOWER

RIGHT HONORABLE, and the rest, you are now come to convey to me my death. I am willing to die, which is a thing no more than all our predecessors have done, and a debt that our posterity must in their due time discharge, which, since it can be no way avoided, it ought the less to be feared; for that which is common to all ought not to be intolerable to any. It is the law of nature, the tribute of the flesh, a remedy from all worldly cares and troubles, and to the truly penitent a perfect path to blessedness. And there is but one death, though several ways unto it; mine is not natural, but enforced by the law and justice. It hath been said that the laws vex only the meaner sort of people, but the mighty are able to withstand them; it is not so with me, for to the law I submit myself and confess that I receive nothing but justice; for he that politically intendeth good to a commonweal may be called a just man, but he that practiseth either for his own profit or any other sinister ends may be well termed a delinquent person, neither is delay in punishment any privilege for pardon. And moreover I ingenuously confess with Cicero that the death of the bad is the safety of the good that be alive.

Let no man trust either in the favor of his prince, the friendship and consanguinity of his peers, much less in his own wisdom and knowledge, of which I ingenuously confess I have been too confident. Kings, as they are men before God, so they are gods before men, and I may say with a great man once in this kingdom, Had I strived to obey my God as faithfully as I sought to honor my King fraudulently, I had stood and not fallen. Most happy and fortu-

nate is that prince who is as much for justice feared as for his goodness beloved; for the greater that princes are in power above other the more they ought to virtue to excel other; and such is the royal sovereign whom I late served.

For my peers, the correspondence that I had with them during my prosperity was to me very delightful and pleasing, and here they have commiserated my ruin I have plentifully found, who (for the most generous of them) I may boldly say, though they have detested the fact, yet they have pitied the person delinquent; the first in their loyalty, the last in their charity; ingenuously confessing that never any subject, or peer of my rank, had ever that help of counsel, that benefit of time, or a more free and legal trial than I have had; of the like to which none of my predecessors have had so much favor from his prince, so much sufferance from the people, in which I comprehend the understanding Commons, not the many-headed monster, multitude; but I have offended, am sentenced, and must now suffer. And for my too much confidence in my supposed wisdom and knowledge, therein have been the most deceived; for he that is wise to himself and knows by others' faults to correct his own offences, to be truly wise is to be secretaries to ourselves; for it is mere folly to reveal and intimate thoughts to strangers. Wisdom is the most precious gem with which the mind can be adorned, and learning the most famous thing for which a man ought to be esteemed, and true wisdom teacheth us to do well, as to speak well. In the first I have failed, for "the wisdom of man is foolishness with God."

For knowledge, it is a thing indifferent both to good and evil, but the best knowledge is for a man to know himself; he that doth so shall esteem of himself but little, for he con-

sidereth from whence he came and whereto he must; he regardeth not the vain pleasures of this life; he exalteth God, and strives to live in his fear: but he that knoweth not himself, is wilful in his own ways, unprofitable in his life, unfortunate in his death, and so am I. But the reason why I sought to attain unto it was this: I have read that he that knoweth not that which he ought to know is a brute beast among men; he that knoweth more than he ought to know is a man among beasts; but he that knoweth all that may be known, is a god among men. To this I much aspired, in this I much failed. Vanity of vanities, all is but vanity.

I have heard the people clamor and cry out, saying that through my occasion the times are bad. I wish that when I am dead they may prove better; most true it is there is at this time a great storm impending (God in his mercy avert it). And since it is my particular lot, like Jonah, to be cast into the sea, I shall think my life well spent to appease God's wrath and satisfy the people's malice.

Oh, what is eloquence more than air? fashioned with an articulate and distinct sound, when it is a special virtue to speak little and well, and silence is oft the best oratory; for fools in their dumbness may be accounted wise. It hath power to make a good matter seem bad, and a bad cause appear good; but mine was to me unprofitable and like the cypress-trees, which are great and tall, but altogether without fruit.

What is honor but the first step to disquietness? And power is still waited on by envy, neither hath it any privilege against infamy. It is held to be the chief part of honor for a man to join to his office and calling, courtesy and affability, commiseration and pity; for thereby he draweth to him with a kind of compulsion the hearts of the multitude. But that

was the least part of my study, which now makes me call to mind that the greater the persons are in authority the sooner they are caught in any delinquency, and their smallest crimes are thought to be capital, the smallest spot seems great in the finest linen, and the least flaw is soonest found in the richest diamond. But high and noble spirits, finding themselves wounded, grieve not so much at their own pain and perplexity as at the derision and scoffs of their enemy; but for mine own part, though I might have many in my life, I hope to find none in my death.

Amongst others things which pollute and contaminate the minds of great spirits there is none more heinous than ambition, which is seldom unaccompanied with avarice. Such, to possess their ends, care not to violate the laws of religion and reason, and to break the bonds of modesty and equity, with the nearest ties of consanguinity and amity; of which as I have been guilty, so I crave at God's hands forgiveness. It is a maxim in philosophy that ambitious men can never be good counsellors to princes; the desire of having more is common to great lords, and a desire of rule a great cause of their ruin.

My lords, I am now the hopeless president, may I be to you all an happy example. For ambition devoureth gold, and drinketh blood, and climbeth so high by other men's heads that at length in the fall it breaketh its own neck. Therefore it is better to live in humble content than in high care and trouble; for more precious is want with honesty than wealth with infamy. For what are we but mere vapors, which in a serene element ascend high, and upon an instant, like smoke, vanish into nothing, or, like ships without pilots, tossed up and down upon the seas by contrary winds and tempests. But the good husbandman thinks better of those

ears of corn which bow down and grow crooked than those which are straight and upright, because he is assured to find more store of grain in the one than in the other. This all men know, yet of this how few make use; the defect whereof must be now my pain; may my suffering prove to others' profit.

For what hath now the favor of my prince, the familiarity with my peers, the volubility of a tongue, the strength of my memory, my learning, or knowledge, my honors, or offices, my power and potency, my riches and treasure (all these the especial gifts, both of nature and fortune), what have all these profited me? Blessings I acknowledge, though by God bestowed upon man, yet not all of them together upon many; yet by the Divine providence the most of them met in me: of which had I made happy use I might still have flourished who am now forced immaturely to fall.

I now could wish (but that *utinam* is too late) that God with his outward goodness toward me had so commixed his inward grace that I had chosen the medium path, neither inclining to the right hand nor deviating to the left; but, like Icarus, with my waxen wings, fearing by too low a flight to moisten them with the waves, I soared too high and too near the sun, by which they being melted, I, aiming at the highest, am precipitated to the lowest and am made a wretched prey to the waters. But I who before built my house upon the sand have now settled my hopes upon the Rock my Saviour, by whose only merits my sole trust is that whatsoever becomes of my body yet in this bosom my soul may be sanctuaried.

Nimrod would have built a tower to reach up to heaven, and call it Babel; but God turned it to the confusion of languages and dissipation of the people. Pharaoh kept the children of Israel in bondage, and, after having freed them, in

his great pride would have made them his prey; but God gave them a dry and miraculous passage, and Pharaoh and his host a watery sepulchre. Belshazzar feasted his princes and prostitutes, who drank healths in the vessels taken from the temple, but the hand of God writ upon the wall, Mene, Tekell, Phares, and that night before morning was both his kingdom and life taken from him. Thus God lets men go on a great while in their own devices, but in the end it proves their own destruction, never suffering them to effect their desired purposes; therefore let none presume upon his power, glory in his greatness, or be too confident in his riches. These things were written for our instruction, of which the living may make use, the dying cannot; but wit and untruthful wisdom are the next neighbors to folly.

There can be no greater vanity in the world than to esteem the world, which regardeth no man; and to make slight of God, who greatly respecteth all men; and there can be no greater folly in man than by much travail to increase his goods, and pamper his body, and in the interim, with vain delights and pleasures, to lose his soul. It is a great folly in any man to attempt a bad beginning in the hope of a good ending; and to make that proper to one which was before common to all is mere indiscretion and the beginning of discord, which I positively wish may end in this my punishment.

Oh, how small a proportion of earth will contain my body, when my high mind could not be confined within the spacious compass of two kingdoms! But my hour draweth on, and I conclude with the Psalmist, not aiming at any one man in particular, but speaking of all in general: How long will you judges be corrupted? How long will ye cease to give true judgment? etc. Blessed is the man that doth not walk in the council of the wicked, nor stand in the way of sinners,

nor sit in the seat of the scornful, therefore they shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous, etc.

SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD

[About the hour of 12 o'clock the aforesaid Lord of Strafford was conveyed to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where was a court of guard, made by the several companies of soldiers of the city of London and the hamlets of the Tower, on each side as he passed to the scaffold. Before marched the marshal's men to make way; then the sheriffs of London's officers with their halberds; after them the King's guard or warders of the tower. Next came one of his gentlemen, bareheaded, in mourning habit, the Lord Strafford following him clad in black cloth, with divers others in the same habit, which were his attendants; then the Lord Bishop of Armagh and other good divines; with the sheriffs of London and divers honorable personages.

When he came to the scaffold he there showed himself on each side in full view to all people, and made this short speech with as much alacrity of spirit as a mortal man could express, as follows:]

MY LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND (and my lords, and the rest of the gentlemen) it is a very great comfort for me to have your lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you a long time. I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I shall not, my lord. I come hither by the good will and pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last debt I owe unto sin, which is death, and by the blessing of that God to rise again through the merits of Christ Jesus to eternal glory. I wish I had been private, that I might have been heard, my lord, if I might be so much beholden to you, that I might use a few words, I should take it for a very great courtesy. My lord, I come hither to submit to that judgment which hath passed against me. I do it with a very quiet and contented mind. I do freely forgive all the world, a forgiveness that is not

spoken from the teeth outward (as they say), but from the heart; I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not so much as a displeasing thought in me arising to any creature. I thank God, I may say truly, and my conscience bears me witness, that in all my services since I have had the honor to serve his Majesty in any employment I never had anything in my heart but the joint and individual prosperity of king and people; if it have been my hap to be misconstrued, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life; the righteous judgment is hereafter; here we are subject to error, and apt to be misjudged one of another. There is one thing I desire to clear myself of, and I am very confident, I speak it with so much clearness, that I hope I shall have your Christian charity in the belief of it. I did always ever think the Parliaments of England, were the happiest constitutions that any kingdom or any nation lived under, and under God the means of making king and people happy: so far have I been from being against parliaments. For my death I here acquit all the world, and pray God heartily to forgive them; and in particular, my Lord Primate, I am very glad that his Majesty is pleased to conceive me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as the utmost execution of this sentence. I am very glad and infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his, and beseech God to turn it to him, that he may find mercy when he hath most need of it. I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world; I did it living, and now dying it is my wish, I do now profess it from my heart, and do most humbly recommend it unto every man here, and wish every man to lay his hand upon his heart and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness of a people should be written in letters of blood. I fear you are in a

wrong way, and I desire Almighty God that no one drop of my blood may rise up in judgment against you.

My Lord of Armagh, I profess myself a Protestant, and a true and obedient son to the Church of England, to that Church wherein I was born and wherein I was bred; prosperity and happiness be ever to it; and whereas it hath been said that I have inclined to Popery, if it be an objection worth answering, let me say truly, that from the time since I was one-and-twenty years of age, till this hour, now going upon nine-and-forty, I never had thought in my heart to doubt of the truth of my religion, nor to my best memory did any ever proffer it in any kind whatsoever; and so, being reconciled to the mercies of Christ Jesus my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope shortly to be gathered, to enjoy those eternal happinesses that shall never have end, I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man, both for any rash or unadvised word or deed, and desire your prayers. And so, my lords, farewell; farewell all things of this world; Lord strengthen my faith; give me confidence and assurance in the merits of Christ Jesus. I desire you that you would be silent, and join in prayers with me and for me; and I trust in God that we shall all meet and live eternally in heaven, there to receive the accomplishment of all happiness, where every tear shall be wiped from our eyes and every sad thought from our hearts. And so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy upon my soul.

CROMWELL

OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector of England, was born of good family at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and on his marriage in 1620 settled down on his estates near Huntingdon. He sat in Parliament in 1628, and also in the Short and Long Parliaments of 1640 as member for Cambridge. He entered the army of Parliament, then in rebellion against Charles I, in 1642 and, as a cavalry captain, exhibited astonishing military genius, while the men trained by him and known as "Cromwell's Ironsides," proved invincible to their foes. At the battle of Marston Moor he commanded the victorious left wing, and on the reorganization of the army he was made lieutenant-general and commanded the right wing at Naseby in June, 1645. In June, 1647, the King, having been defeated and captured, was seized by his orders and removed into the custody of the Independents, and in 1649 he was tried, condemned and executed, Cromwell being a member of the court which pronounced the sentence. In 1649, acting as lord lieutenant, he subdued Ireland, and on the proclamation of Charles II by the Scottish royalists he was appointed commander in chief, and, marching into Scotland, defeated the Scots at Dunbar, September 5, 1650. On the same day of the next year he defeated the army of Charles II at Worcester. In April, 1563, the Rump Parliament, as it was then styled, was forcibly dissolved by Cromwell, who summoned a new Parliament and assumed the title of Lord Protector in the following December. His death occurred at London in 1658 on the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. His character has been the subject of endless discussions and of undiscriminating praise and blame, but at the present time a more dispassionate estimate of his greatness prevails. Cromwell's home policy was just and liberal toward the mass of the people and conducive to the prosperity of the country; while his foreign policy was such as to secure to England a position among nations more commanding than she had ever before occupied. He grasped power, and dispensed with the formality of Parliaments, only because he sought to promote, in the speediest manner, the welfare, happiness, and glory of his native land.

SPEECH AT OPENING OF FIRST PROTECTIVE PARLIAMENT

DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 4, 1654

GENTLEMEN,— You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the interests of three great nations with the territories belonging to them; and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon

your shoulders the interest of all the Christian people in the world. And the expectation is that I should let you know, as far as I have cognizance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

It hath been very well hinted to you this day that you come hither to settle the interests above mentioned: for your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, will extend so far, even to all Christian people. In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness, and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

After so many changes and turnings which this nation hath labored under, to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts! I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, to have remembered that which was the rise of, and gave the first beginning to, all these troubles which have been upon this nation: and to have given you a series of the transactions, — not of men, but of the providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny which was upon us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

If I should have gone in that way, then that which lies upon my heart as to these things — which is so written there that if I would blot it out I could not — would itself have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case (Ps. xl, 5), "Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which

thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered." Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the sermon: you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances, to a state and dispensation similar to ours,—to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: to Israel's bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, toward a Place of Rest,—I say toward it. And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things; though they are things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper;—written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

But a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day; to wit, healing and settling. The remembering of transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing, —at least in the hearts of many of you,—might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. And I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove not healing, what shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind: and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a day indeed, and such a day as generations to come will bless you for! I say for this and the other reasons I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of

the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

Howbeit I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this nation, or rather these nations, were, when the present government was undertaken. And for order's sake: It's very natural to consider what our condition was, in civils; and then also in spirituals.

What was our condition! Every man's hand almost was against his brother; at least his heart was; little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; his terrible ones, when he met us in the way of his judgment in a ten-years' civil war, and his merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us! No. But we had our humors and interests; and indeed I fear our humors went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments. Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or how to have right done him, without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the interest of the nation; as to the authority in the nation; to the magistracy; to the ranks and orders of men,—whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; the distinction of these: that is a good interest of the nation, and a great one! The natural magistracy of the nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of levelling principles? I beseech you, for the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that levelling principle tend to the reducing

of all to an equality? Did it consciously think to do so; or did it only unconsciously practise toward that for property and interest? At all events, what was the purport of it but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord?— which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough! This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did and might well extend far is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all poor men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad men. To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavors after settlement, you will be so well minded of that I might have spared it here: but let that pass.

Now as to spirituals. Indeed in spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable still; and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies; contempt of God and Christ, denying of him, contempt of him and his ordinances and of the Scriptures: a spirit visibly acting those things foretold by Peter and Jude; yea, those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in 1 Tim. iv, 1, 2, under the title of the Latter Times), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the *Last* Times. He says (2 Tim. iii, 2-4): "In the Last Days perilous times shall come; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful," and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state he told us (1 Tim. iv, 1, 2), that "in the *latter* days" that state shall come in; not the *last* days, but the *latter*,— wherein "there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy," and so on. This is only his description of the

latter times, or those of Antichrist; and we are given to understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be worse! And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. For when men forget all rules of law and nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him; obscuring the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavor to blot out, "having a form of godliness without the power,"— surely these are sad tokens of the last times!

And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place of Scripture is so legible and visible that he who runs may read it to be among us. For by such "the grace of God is turned into wantonness," and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villainy and spurious apprehensions. And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious; yet the consideration how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me think of a second sort of men, tending in the same direction; who, it is true, as I said, will not practice or own these things, yet can tell the magistrate "that he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions: these, forsooth, are matters of conscience and opinion: they are matters of religion; what hath the magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, not to the inward,"— and so forth. And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the magistrate to meddle with them that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.

Such considerations, and pretensions to "liberty of conscience," what are they leading us toward? Liberty of conscience, and liberty of the subject,— two as glorious things to

be contended for as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronizing of villainies! insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, "that the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the magistrate's power; he had nothing to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in the nation for the use of the people was competent to the magistrate, lest it should be imposed upon the consciences of men,"— for "they would receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the magistrate if it were thus received!" The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

So likewise the axe was laid to the root of the ministry. It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, said they. It suffered under such a judgment that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system, I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity we suffered under was, that no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now I think we are at the other extremity, when many affirm that he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Anti-Christianism, stamped thereby upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard. I wish it may not be too justly said that there was severity and sharpness in our old system! yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these times; denying liberty of conscience to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them!

We may reckon among these our spiritual evils an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more color for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done; for

few have been catched by the former mistakes except such as have apostatized from their holy profession, such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God and left to such noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort, which many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, have fallen into; and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy.

Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honor, and wait, and hope for the fulfilment of: That Jesus Christ will have a time to set up his reign in our hearts, by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there, which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that kingdom! But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else,— upon such a pretension as this is: truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. Jude, when he reckoned up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: "Of some," says he, "have compassion, making a difference;" others save "with fear, pulling them out of the fire." I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! But I hope the same will be for their good. If

OLIVER CROMWELL

men do but so much as pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the magistrate's encouragement. And if the magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end, I hope it will evidence love and not hatred, so to punish where there is cause.

Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger of that spirit. For if these were but notions,— I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in civil things and spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come to such practices as telling us, for instance, that liberty and property are not the badges of the kingdom of Christ; when they tell us, not that we are to regulate law, but that law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law, instead of our known laws settled among us: this is worthy of every magistrate's consideration, especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the magistrate's consideration.

Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst the nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have now told you; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but "Overturn, overturn, overturn!" (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits),— the common enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three nations of England, Scotland and Ire-

land. We know very well that emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they have done since those things were set on foot. And I tell you that divers gentlemen here can bear witness with me how that they, the Jesuits, have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things in England, from an archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England,— of which we are able to produce the particular instruments in most of the limits of their cathedrals or pretended dioceses,— an episcopal power with archdeacons, etc., and had persons authorized to exercise and distribute those things, who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

And in the meantime all endeavors possible were used to hinder the work of God in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland. Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the war in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a foreign war. Deeply engaged in war with the Portuguese; whereby our trade ceased: the evil consequences by that war were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a war with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A war that cost this nation full as much as the whole taxes came unto; the navy being a hundred and sixty ships, which cost this nation above 100,000*l.* a month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* That very one war did engage us to so great a charge. At the same time also we were in a war with France. The advantages that were taken of the discontents

and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that war, and at least hinder us of an honorable peace; every man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a war with France. And besides the sufferings in respect to the trade of the nation, it is most evident that the purse of the nation could not have been able much longer to bear it, by reason of the advantages taken by other states to improve their own, and spoil our manufacture of cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this nation. Such was our condition: spoiled in our trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

Things being so,— and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so,— what a heap of confusions were upon these poor nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this government; a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and therefore let it speak for itself. Only let me say this,— because I can speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in the intention of it, as to the appproving of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was calculated with our best wisdom for the interest of the people,— for the interest of the people alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may — I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you — say somewhat on the behalf of the government. Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of

it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you, and acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceedings have been entered into by this government, and what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

The government hath had some things in desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws. I say to reform them: and for that end it hath called together persons — without offence be it spoken — of as great ability and as great interest as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short and less chargeable to the people; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation. And those things are in preparation, and bills prepared, which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. In the meanwhile there hath been care taken to put the administration of the laws into the hands of just men; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed — hath been reformed, I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men: and as for the things, or causes, depending there, which made the burden and work of the honorable persons entrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the courts of law at Westminster.

This government hath, farther, endeavored to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of in our sermon this day) of every man making himself a minister and preacher. It hath endeavored to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and

Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety, and integrity as any, I believe, this nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have labored to approve themselves to Christ, to the nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them,— though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any,— it is that they, in fact, go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have " received gifts from him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts " for the work of the ministry and for the edifying of the body of Christ. The government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

One thing more this government hath done: it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament, which, blessed be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England, save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It is that which, as I have desired above my life, so I shall desire to keep it above my life.

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to foreign States; by the war with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbors round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, that if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we, his poor instruments.

I did instance the wars, which did exhaust your treasure, and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein if it had continued but a few months longer: this I

can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time, peace with Swede-land; an honorable peace; through the endeavors of an honorable person here present as the instrument. I say, you have an honorable peace with a kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately, perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbors; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honorable peace.

You have a peace with the Danes,— a State that lay contiguous to that part of this island which hath given us the most trouble. And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a peace there, and an honorable one. Satisfaction to your merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing. I believe you will easily know it is so,— an honorable peace. You have the Sound open; which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this nation, the shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind at second hand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, who used to be the carriers and venders of it to us; and at the same rates and tolls; and I think, by that peace, the said rates now fixed upon cannot be raised to you in future.

You have a peace with the Dutch: a peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as

acceptable to the spirit of this nation as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds with that Commonwealth; so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. Truly as a peace with the Protestant states hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honor and of assurance to the Protestant interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's patrimonial territories, the endeavor is to drive the Protestant part of the people out as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant states to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of interests I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits that you will help them as opportunity shall serve.

You have a peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a peace which, your merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate, than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty which never before was since the Inquisition was set up here,— that our people which trade thither have liberty of conscience,— liberty to worship in chapels of their own.

Indeed, peace is, as you were well told to-day, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honor! We are upon a treaty with France. And we may say this, that if God give us honor in the eyes of the nations about us, we have reason to bless him for it, and so to own it. And I

dare say that there is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so, I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a little again of the sharp as well as of the sweet! And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know all.

As I said before, when this government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those domestic divisions and animosities and scatterings; engaged also with those foreign enemies round about us, at such a vast charge,— 120,000*l.* a month for the very fleet, which sum was the very utmost penny of your assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this government was undertaken: all accidental ways of bringing in treasure were, to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed,— the forfeited lands sold; the sums on hand spent; rents, fee-farms, delinquents' lands, king's, queen's, bishops', dean-and-chapters' lands, sold. These were spent when this government was undertaken. I think it is my duty to let you know so much. And that is the reason why the taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the people; — of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though God hath dealt thus bountifully with you, yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you may enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered!

You were told to-day of a people brought out of Egypt toward the land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many

years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. We are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it that we are not brought into misery, not totally wrecked, but have, as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and his presence go along with the management of affairs at this meeting, you will be enabled to put the top-stone to the work and make the nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! You are yet like the people under circumcision, but raw. Your peaces are but newly made. And it is a maxim not to be despised, " Though peace be made, yet it is interest that keeps peace; "— and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon it. But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance. And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and in brief that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavors! It is one of the great ends of calling this Parliament that the ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbor; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the government of that nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work through. You have had laid before you some considerations intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with all. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us,— truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that is done. And our enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding of one another and of your business, concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits,— wherein you shall have my prayers.

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say that I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow servant with you to the interest of these great affairs and of the people of these nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work.

CHILLINGWORTH

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, a distinguished English theologian and controversialist, was born at Oxford in 1602. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, becoming a Fellow of his college in 1628. About this time he embraced Roman Catholic doctrines and spent a year at Douay in study, but, returning to Oxford in 1631, declared himself a Protestant again. Not considering that the Thirty-nine Articles could be entirely proved from Scripture, he declined at this time to take orders in the English church. He was the target of frequent attacks from Roman Catholic controversialists, and published in reply "A Discourse Against the Infallibility of the Roman Church." In 1637 appeared his great work, "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation," in which Roman Catholicism is not attacked or the Anglican Church defended, but the aim is to maintain the right of free inquiry and the necessity of personal conviction. So popular did it prove to be that a second edition was issued within five months. His opinions were not relished by the Puritan party in the Established Church, but were approved by Archbishop Laud, and in 1638 he agreed to subscribe to the Articles and was then made chancellor of Salisbury and prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire. At the outset of the Civil War he espoused th Royalist cause, and entered the army of the King, but whether as chaplain or soldier is uncertain. He was present at the siege of Gloucester in 1643, but was taken prisoner subsequently at Arundel Castle. He was ill at the time of his capture, and the worriment caused him by the pertinacity of some of the Puritan ministers in the Parliamentary army is thought to have hastened his death, which occurred at Chichester January 30, 1644. He was buried in Chichester Cathedral. In his lifetime and for long after he was bitterly denounced by Puritan and Catholic extremists. The literary value of his writing is very great, and his reasoning marks an epoch in English theology. He was clear and dignified in his arguments, and sustained his points by a weight of learning and intellectual acumen, and his conceptions of toleration have been productive of the best results. His writings have been many times reprinted, the best edition being the one issued at Oxford, in three volumes, in 1838. Besides those already named he was the author of "Nine Sermons," "Additional Discourses," a series of tracts; and a fragment entitled "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Defended."

SERMON ON MAKING FRIENDS WITH THE MAMMON OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS

"Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."—Luke xvi, 9.

THE children of this world (saith Christ) are wiser in their generation than the children of light. To make which good, our Saviour, in so much of the chapter as goes before my text, brings in a story, or, as they call it, a parable, of a cunning fellow, yet no great projector neither, no very subtle politician; notwithstanding, one, who being in an extremity, turned out of his office for misspending his master's goods, had found out a shift, and that by mere cozenage, to procure so much as would serve to keep him, indeed not according to the port and fashion after which before he had lived, but only to maintain him in meat and drink, out of danger of starving, or, which was more fearful, because more full of trouble or dishonor, hard labor or begging.

Surely it had been no hard matter for our Saviour, who knew all whatsoever was in man, to have discovered more subtle projects, plots of a finer and more curious contrivance than this fellow's; but this, it seems, would serve his turn well enough for the purpose for which he made use of it; and, to say the truth, there cannot be imagined an example more exactly suiting, more closely applicable to his intent: which was, not to discredit and dishearten his followers, first, by comparing and preferring the cunning of an ordinary fellow, a mere bailiff or steward, before that spiritual, heavenly wisdom to which they pretend: nor, secondly, to instruct them by indirect and unwarrantable courses to provide for themselves hereafter; but chiefly this:

To teach us, by objecting to our view a man who, by his own negligence and carelessness being brought to an extremity (for there was no necessity he should be brought to these plunges; a little timely care and providence, even ordinary honesty, would easily have warranted and preserved him), had upon the sudden found out a trick of his office, namely, by

proceeding in his old courses, of wasting his master's substance to the enriching of his fellow servants, and thereby gained their good wills, that for the time following they might preserve him from perishing.

Our Saviour, I say, by this example, would teach us that since God hath placed us here in this world, as his stewards, has put into our hands his goods, his riches, to be dispensed for his use and advantage: and such stewards we are who have advantages infinitely more urgent, and pressing us to an honest, faithful discharge of our office, than this man in the parable ever had: as, first, we must of necessity fail, and be cashiered of our office: all the power of heaven and earth cannot procure us a perpetuity in it. The case did not stand so with this man, for it was merely his own fault to deserve discarding; and besides, having deserved that censure, it was his misfortune, too, that his lord should come to the knowledge of it; for it is no impossible thing that a steward should thrive by his lord's loss and yet never be called to an account for it: and, secondly, upon our behavior in this our office depends the everlasting welfare of our souls and bodies; we shall forever be disposed of according to the honest or unfaithful discharge of our place. If ill, Lord, what shall become of us? Where shall appear in that great day of account?

I dare not almost tell you the issue of it: but if we have carried ourselves as faithful servants; propose to yourselves your own conditions, give your thoughts license and scope to be excessive and overflowing in their desires; if the whole extension and capacity of your thoughts be not satisfied and filled to the brim, with measure pressed down and running over, God himself (which is impossible to imagine) will prove a deceiving, unfaithful master.

These things therefore considered, without question it doth

infinitely concern us to consult and project what we mean to do with our riches; to what employment we intend to put those honors and that power which God hath conferred on us in this life: whether to receive them as our good things, to go away contented with them as our rewards, our final rewards, expecting no other good things from God after them; or, which is our Saviour's advice, use them as means and helps of attaining blessings above all conceivable proportion exceeding them; so dispensing and providently scattering them abroad that against our time of need (which sooner or later will undoubtedly come) we may oblige to ourselves such friends, so gracious, and prevailing with our Master, who, either by their prayers and intercessions, or some other way which we know not, may procure for us admission into our Master's joys, to be no longer stewards and servants, but friends and sons.

Thus, by the help and benefit of this mammon of unrighteousness in my text, these little things, even the least blessings that God has to bestow upon us, so called in the verse following, and in the next but one to that, these "things of other men," as if they were trifles, not worthy the owning, if compared with what rewards may be had in exchange for them, purchasing to ourselves everlasting and glorious rewards; by the assistance of our riches (in the expression of St. Paul) "laying up for ourselves a foundation of good works against the time to come, that we may lay hold on eternal life."

And this I suppose to be the force and meaning of this ἐπιμύθιον or moral of the parable, which Christ hath closely contrived and pressed into these few words: "Make to yourselves friends of the," etc. In which words I shall observe unto you these three general parts:

1. What we must expect at last, notwithstanding all the

riches and pomps of this world, that is, "to fail." Christ, you see, makes no question at all of it; he takes it for granted where he says "that when ye fail," as implying that certainly fail we must.

2. This being supposed, that fail we must, the counsel of Christ comes in very seasonably, namely, to provide for the main, to take order, that though we ourselves sink, yet we may procure us friends to support us in our necessities; and that is, by making to ourselves "friends of the mammon," etc.

3. The comfortable issue and convenience which shall accrue unto us by these friends thus purchased, that is, by them to be received "into everlasting," etc. Of these in the order proposed.

You do not expect, I am sure, that I should go about seriously to persuade you that you shall not live here forever. For whom should I seek to persuade? God forbid I should be so uncharitable as to think or but suspect that ever I should find occasion to make use of any persuasions for such a purpose. Indeed a very good man (it was the prophet David) once said in his prosperity, "I shall never be removed; thou, Lord, of thy goodness hast made my hill so strong." But was this well said of him, think you? It seems not; for presently to confute this his confidence, "the Lord did but turn his face away from him, and he was troubled." Yet surely such a speech as this could never be spoken upon better grounds; for this his assurance, it seems, proceeded not out of any presumptuous confidence of his own strength or policy, but only out of consideration of God's especial providence showed in his wonderful preservation from many great and imminent dangers, and in preferring him from a low, contemptible fortune to the rule and dominion over his people.

There is another fellow in a parable, who, though he came

short of David in this his unwarrantable confidence and presumption upon that foundation of riches and wealth which with unwearied anxiety and care he had laid up, notwithstanding was more suddenly and unanswerably confuted; for he did not promise to himself a perpetuity, only he imagined to himself (as he thought reasonably) that since he had at last obtained that which he had aimed at, and which had cost him so many years' travail, it were fit for him now to enjoy the fruit, which he had so dearly bought. And in a joyful contemplation of this his happiness he enters into dialogue with his soul: "Soul, (saith he) now take thy rest;" no more shalt thou be vexed, and even consumed with the painful and violent thirst after riches; thou hast that laid up for thee which shall abundantly satisfy all thy desires. All my business hereafter shall be to find out ways how to repay unto my soul all those pleasures which heretofore I have denied unto myself: I have store sufficient for many years' expenses safely laid up in my barns. Yet for all this man's thus pleasing himself with assured promises of many years' happiness, if you will but vouchsafe to inquire after him the very next day after he spoke thus, his garners, it is likely, you may yet find standing, thronged and oppressed with the abundance of corn; but for his soul (for whose sake all this ado had been kept) the Lord knows what became of that; it was hurried away, no man can tell whither.

Now the thing that it becomes me to desire at your hands from the consideration of these two examples is this: not to require of you to believe that you must once fail (for that I suppose were needless), nor yet to dissuade you from allowing to yourselves a reasonable use of, and moderate lawful pleasures from, that abundance of blessings wherewith God hath enriched you beyond all other men; but to beseech you

that this meditation, that certainly you must fail, may be no unwelcome thought to you; that when the time shall come that you must leave these riches and pleasures which God has given you here to enjoy, it may not come upon you as an unexpected misfortune, as a thing you were afraid of, and would willingly be content to avoid.

I confess this were a meditation sufficient to discourage and quite dishearten a man that were resolved to take up his rest in the pleasures and preferments of this world, that were content to sit down satisfied with such a slight happiness as this life is able to afford him; for one who would make riches his strong city, a place of refuge and security, a fortress whereto he would have recourse in all his extremities, and from whence he would expect safety in all dangers and troubles which may assail him: for what were that but to withdraw him from his strongholds and leave him unfortified and exposed to any injury and misfortune? How could I be more injurious to such a man than to vex and affright him with such sad melancholic thoughts as these, that the time will come when that castle of his, his riches, shall be undermined and demolished, when he shall be left naked and defenceless? At which time, if it were possible for him to retain his riches, which before he made his bulwark and place of security, yet he will find them but paper walls, unable to stand the weakest battery.

But I hope better things of you, beloved Christians, even things which accompany salvation: and, indeed, why should I not? Who can forbid me to hope so? for alas! I know you not. I have no reason to assure myself of the contrary. And then I should be most inexcusably uncharitable if I should not even rejoice in this my hope. I see God hath plentifully showered down upon you, almost overwhelmed you, with all

the blessings of this life. He has moreover given you peaceable times to enjoy them (blessed be his holy name for it, and a thousand blessings be returned into the bosom of his anointed, for his most pious, Christian-like care to confirm this peace and to preserve it from interruption!); God, I say, has given you leisure and opportunity to enjoy and improve these your riches for your everlasting happiness: a comfort which he has denied almost to all other nations; nothing abroad but wars and rumors of wars; no joy or comfort, but only in the effusion of precious Christian blood; nothing but sacking of towns, and invasions of countries, God only knows upon how just pretensions! But, which is above all other blessings (indeed, without which all the rest will prove very curses), God has given you an abundant, plentiful use of his blessed Word and sacraments every week, several times (till now) a worthy and able clergy to put you in mind how great an account you are to make to Almighty God of these his blessings, and what extraordinary interest is expected at your hands.

Let me not, therefore, I beseech you, be your enemy, if I prove troublesome to any slumbering, lethargic spirit; if I put him in mind that the time will come when sleep shall forever depart from his eyes, and that if his slumber last till a trumpet awake him, darkness he may find, most palpable, Egyptian darkness, but not darkness commodious to call on and procure sleep, not very convenient to take one's rest in. Forgive, I beseech you, my importunity, if I earnestly desire you frequently to represent to your minds a time of failing, and presently after that a severe, inexorable judge, requiring a strict, exact account of your behavior in your stewardship: if I beseech you, from the consideration of the Foolish Virgins, not to put far from you the coming of the bridegroom; not

to frame to yourselves reasons and probabilities why he is not likely to come yet a good while (for he himself has told you, he will come as a thief in the night, and therefore, when you are thus secure and slumbering, yourselves create a night, a fit season for him to come unawares upon you); for, if you be unprovided of oil in your lamps, of good works, which may shine before men, and the door be once shut, talk not of any new devised faith and I know not what assurance; there is no possibility of ever having it opened, but you shall be forced to remain exposed to all dangers, to all manner of misfortunes, not one shall be found to befriend you and to receive you into everlasting habitations. . . .

God knows we have need of all manner of encouragements, and all little enough for us, so sluggish and immovable, so perverse and obstinate are we: therefore, for God's sake, upon any terms, continue in the service of Christ, make use of all manner of advantages; and though ye find hope or fear predominant in you (these servile affections, as they are commonly called), yet for all that faint not, despair not, but rather give thanks to Almighty God; and God, who sees such good effect of his promises and threatenings in you (of which all the Scripture is full from one end to the other) will in his good time fill your hearts full of love, even that "perfect love which casteth out fear," and of that perfect love which shall have no need of hope; he will perfect that his good work in you unto the end.

To conclude all, whether ye shall perform this commandment of Christ, or whether ye shall not perform it, it cannot be avoided, everlasting habitations shall be your reward: only the difference is whether ye shall have them of your enemies' providing; whether ye will be beholden to the devil and his angels, your ancient, mortal enemies, to prepare everlasting

dwellings for you (and "who can dwell in everlasting fire?" saith the prophet; "who can dwell in continual burnings?") or whether ye will expect them from the assistance of those just persons whom you have by your good works eternally obliged to you; even those blessed and glorious habitations which God the Father Almighty hath from the beginning of the world provided and furnished for you; which God the Son, by his meritorious death and passion, hath purchased for you; and for the admission whereunto God the Holy Ghost hath sanctified and adorned you, that in thankfulness and gratitude you yourselves may become everlasting habitations, pure and undefiled temples for him to dwell in for ever and ever. Now unto these glorious and everlasting habitations God of his infinite mercy bring us, even for Jesus Christ's sake.

DIGBY

GEORGE DIGBY, an English nobleman, famous as an orator, was the son of John Digby, the first Earl of Bristol, and was born at Madrid in October, 1612, while the Earl was ambassador to Spain. At the age of twelve he appeared in the House of Commons with a petition in behalf of his father, then confined in the Tower. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and some years later, having injured a gentleman of the court with whom he had quarrelled, was himself so harshly treated that he vowed to have revenge against the court. Accordingly, when he sat in Parliament as member for Dorset, he was eager in the impeachment of Strafford. He would not, however, sign the bill of attainder, and presently joined the King's party, having now a seat in the House of Lords as Baron Digby. In 1642 he was impeached for high treason, but the charge was not sustained. In 1653, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the earldom of Bristol. Throughout his life he displayed a restless, inconstant disposition, and, perpetually wavering between the two parties in the State, was consequently of real service to neither. After the Restoration he frequently spoke in Parliament and in 1663 brought forward a charge of high treason against Clarendon, the lord chancellor. In early life he had attacked the Roman Catholic faith in his "Letters Concerning Religion," and twenty years afterward had become a Roman Catholic, but in his last recorded speech, March 15, 1673, he spoke in favor of the Test Act, declaring he was "a Catholic of the Church of Rome, not a Catholic of the Court of Rome." He died at Chelsea, March 20, 1677. Digby was a man of much ability and one of the great orators of his time. Besides his speeches and letters he was the author of "Elvira," a comedy, 1667. Horace Walpole has said of him: "He wrote against popery, and embraced it; he was a zealous opposer of the court, and a sacrifice for it; was conscientiously converted in the midst of his prosecution of Lord Strafford, and was most unconscientiously a persecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great parts he always hurt himself and his friends; with romantic bravery, he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the Test Act, though a Roman Catholic, and addicted himself to astrology on the birthday of true philosophy."

SPEECH ON THE BILL OF ATTAINDER AGAINST THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

[Lord Digby was appointed one of the managers for the impeachment of Strafford. Into this he entered, for a time, with the utmost zeal, but at the moment of taking the final vote on the bill he came forward and abandoned his ground, denouncing the condemnation of Strafford by a bill of attainder as an act of murder. In spite of this eloquent appeal the bill was carried the same day in the House by a vote of two hundred and four to fifty-nine.]

WE are now upon the point of giving, as much as in us lies, the final sentence unto death or life, on a great minister of state and peer of this kingdom, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, a name of hatred in the present age for his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment.

I have had the honor to be employed by the House in this great business from the first hour that it was taken into consideration. It was a matter of great trust; and I will say, with confidence that I have served the House in it, not only with industry according to my ability, but with most exact faithfulness and justice.

And as I have hitherto discharged my duty to this House and to my country in the progress of this great cause, so I trust I shall do now, in the last period of it, to God and to a good conscience. I do wish the peace of that to myself, and the blessing of Almighty God to me and my posterity, according as my judgment on the life of this man shall be consonant with my heart, and the best of my understanding in all integrity.

I know well that by some things I have said of late, while this bill was in agitation, I have raised some prejudices against me in the cause. Yea, some (I thank them for their plain dealing) have been so free as to tell me that I have suffered much by the backwardness I have shown in the bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I have formerly been so keen, so active.

I beg of you, Mr. Speaker, and the rest, but a suspension of judgment concerning me, till I have opened my heart to you clearly and freely in this business. Truly, sir, I am still the same in my opinion and affections as to the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous

minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves to have been as high and tyrannical as any subject ever ventured on; and the malignity of them greatly aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other.

And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off.

Let me unfold to you the mystery, Mr. Speaker: I will not dwell much upon justifying to you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between prosecutors and judges —how misbecoming that fervor would be in a judge which perhaps was commendable in a prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must therefore put on another personage. It is honest and noble to be earnest in order to the discovery of truth; but when that hath been brought so far as it can be to light, our judgment thereupon ought to be calm and cautious. In prosecution upon probable grounds we are accountable only for our industry or remissness; but in judgment we are deeply responsible to Almighty God for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life the judge is God's steward of the party's blood and must give a strict account for every drop.

But, at I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not insist long upon this ground of difference in me now from what I was formerly. The truth of it is, sir, the same ground whereupon I, with the rest of the few to whom you first committed the consideration of my Lord Strafford, brought down our opinion that

it was fit he should be accused of treason: upon the same ground I was engaged with earnestness in his prosecution; and had the same ground remained in that force of belief in me which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his condemnation. But truly, sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accusation — that which should be the basis of our judgment of the Earl of Strafford as to treason — is, to my understanding, quite vanished away.

This it was, Mr. Speaker — his advising the King to employ the army in Ireland to reduce England. This I was assured would be proved before I gave my consent to his accusation. I was confirmed in the same belief during the prosecution, and fortified most of all in it, after Sir Henry Vane's preparatory examination, by assurances which that worthy member, Mr. Pym, gave me, that his testimony would be made convincing by some notes of what passed at the Junto [Privy Council] concurrent with it. This I ever understood would be of some other counsellor; but you see now, it proves only to be a copy of the same secretary's notes, discovered and produced in the manner you have heard; and those such disjointed fragments of the venomous part of discourses — no results, no conclusions of councils, which are the only things that secretaries should register, there being no use of the other but to accuse and bring men into danger.

But, sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me concerning the army in Ireland, nor yet that all the rest of the Junto remember nothing of it; but this, sir, which I shall tell you, is that which works with me, under favor, to an utter overthrow of his evidence as touching the army of Ireland. Before, while I was prosecutor and under tie of secrecy, I might not discover [disclose] any weakness of the cause which now, as judge, I must.

Mr. Secretary Vane was examined thrice upon oath at the preparatory committee. The first time he was questioned as to all the interrogatories; and to that part of the seventh which concerns the army in Ireland he said positively these words: "I cannot charge him with that;" but for the rest he desired time to recollect himself, which was granted him. Some days after, he was examined a second time, and then deposed these words concerning the King's being absolved from rules of government, and so forth, very clearly. But being pressed as to that part concerning the Irish army, again he said he could say "nothing to that." Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after, my Lord of Northumberland, and all others of the Junto, denying to have heard anything concerning those words of reducing England by the Irish army, it was thought fit to examine the secretary once more; and then he deposed these words to have been spoken by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty: "You have an army in Ireland, which you may employ here to reduce (or some word to that sense) this kingdom." Mr. Speaker, these are the circumstances which I confess with my conscience thrust quite out of doors that grand article of our charge concerning his desperate advice to the King of employing the Irish army here.

Let not this, I beseech you, be driven to an aspersion upon Mr. Secretary, as if he should have sworn otherwise than he knew or believed. He is too worthy to do that. Only let this much be inferred from it, that he who twice upon oath, with time of recollection, could not remember anything of such a business, might well, a third time, misremember somewhat; and in this business the difference of one word "here" for "there," or "that" for "this," quite alters the case; the latter also being the more probable since it is confessed on all

hands that the debate then was concerning a war with Scotland. And you may remember that at the bar he once said "employ there." And thus, Mr. Speaker, have I faithfully given you an account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the hatchet, or bill, with me, toward my Lord Strafford.

This was that whereupon I accused him with a free heart; prosecuted him with earnestness; and, had it to my understanding been proved, should have condemned him with innocence; whereas now I cannot satisfy my conscience to do it. I profess I can have no notion of anybody's intent to subvert the laws treasonably but by force; and, this design of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount so high with me. I can find a more easy and natural spring from whence to derive all his other crimes than from an intent to bring in tyranny, and make his own posterity, as well as us, slaves; namely, from revenge, from pride, from passion, and from insolence of nature. But had this of the Irish army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of treason over all. It would have been a withe, indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were, into a fagot of treason.

I do not say but the rest of the things charged may represent him a man as worthy to die, and perhaps worthier than many a traitor. I do not say but they may justly direct us to enact that they shall be treason for the future. But God keep me from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *a posteriori*. Let the mark be set on the door where the plague is, and then let him that will enter, die.

I know, Mr. Speaker, there is in Parliament a double power of life and death by bill; a judicial power, and a legislative. The measure of the one is what is legally just; of the other

what is prudentially and politically fit for the good and preservation of the whole. But these two, under favor, are not to be confounded in judgment. We must not piece out want of legality with matter of convenience, nor the defailance of prudential fitness with a pretence of legal justice.

To condemn my Lord of Strafford judicially, as for treason, my conscience is not assured that the matter will bear it; and to do it by the legislative power, my reason consultively cannot agree to that, since I am persuaded that neither the Lords nor the King will pass this bill, and, consequently, that our passing it will be a cause of great division and contentions in the State.

Therefore my humble advice is, that, laying aside this bill of attainder, we may think of another, saving only life; such as may secure the state from my Lord of Strafford without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment as he hath endangered it by his practices.

If this may not be hearkened unto, let me conclude in saying that to you all, which I have thoroughly inculcated upon mine own conscience, on this occasion. Let every man lay his hand upon his own heart, and seriously consider what we are going to do with a breath: either justice or murder — justice on the one side, or murder, heightened and aggravated to its supremest extent, on the other! For, as the casuists say, He who lies with his sister commits incest; but he that marries his sister, sins higher, by applying God's ordinance to his crime; so, doubtless, he that commits murder with the sword of justice heightens that crime to the utmost.

The danger being so great, and the case so doubtful that I see the best lawyers in diametrical opposition concerning it, let every man wipe his heart as he does his eyes when he would judge of a nice and subtle object. The eye, if it be

pre-tinctured with any color, is vitiated in its discerning. Let us take heed of a blood-shotten eye in judgment. Let every man purge his heart clear of all passions. I know this great and wise body politic can have none; but I speak to individuals from the weakness which I find in myself. Away with personal animosities! Away with all flatteries to the people, in being the sharper against him because he is odious to them! Away with all fears, lest by sparing his blood they may be incensed! Away with all such considerations as that it is not fit for a Parliament that one accused by it of treason should escape with life! Let not former vehemence of any against him, nor fear from thence that he cannot be safe while that man lives, be an ingredient in the sentence of any one of us.

Of all these corruptives of judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do, before God, discharge myself to the utmost of my power; and do now, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood by this solemn protestation, that my vote goes not to the taking of the Earl of Strafford's life.

VANE

SIR HENRY VANE, an English statesman and the fourth governor of Massachusetts, was the son of Sir Henry Vane, the secretary of state to Charles I, and was born at Hadlow, Kent, in May, 1613. He studied at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Oxford, and, after travelling in France and Holland, completed his education at Geneva, where he became a Puritan and a republican. He went to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635, and was chosen its governor the next year, but his sympathy with the views of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, and the fact that he favored religious toleration, diminished his first popularity. He returned to England in 1637. Soon afterward he received the honor of knighthood; sat in both the Long and Short Parliaments, and took part in the impeachment of Strafford. He assisted in securing the adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant" and in 1643 helped Roger Williams to obtain a charter for Rhode Island. He disapproved of the execution of Charles I, and was opposed to Cromwell in several important matters, a circumstance which caused the Protector to exclaim angrily, on one important occasion, "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Nevertheless he was placed at the head of the army and navy commission in 1653. His pamphlet, "A Healing Question Propounded," in which a new form of government was suggested, resulted in his imprisonment for nine months in Carisbrooke Castle by Cromwell's order. Vane was one of the twenty persons exempted from the general pardon after the Restoration, and after many months' imprisonment he was tried for high treason and beheaded, June 14, 1662. His great abilities as a statesman were generally admitted by his contemporaries, and his devotion to the public service was marked by entire absence of self-interest. Vane's religious theories, as set forth in some of his works, are mystical in their character and not very easily apprehended. Among his writings, besides the "Healing Question," may be named "The People's Case Stated," in which his views on civil government are declared with great clearness; "The Retired Man's Meditations;" "Of Love of God and Union with God," and a number of speeches issued singly.

SPEECH IN HIS OWN DEFENCE

[A true copy of the prisoner's own papers containing the substance of what he pleaded on the said day of his trial, June 6th.]

THAT, without any seeking of mine, I was chosen, by writ under the Great Seal, to serve as burgess for the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the Parliament that sat down on the 3d of November, 1640, and having, in pur-

suance thereof, taken my seat in the said Parliament, I was obliged by law to give my attendance upon the said trust, as well as upon grounds of duty and conscience.

The said Parliament was not only called and assembled after the usual manner, and had the power and privileges incident to that high court, but was by express statute and consent of the three estates so constituted, as to its continuance, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution, that in none of these particulars they were subject to alteration but by their own common assent, declared by act of Parliament to be passed by themselves for that purpose, with the royal assent.

In the preamble to the act for continuance of the said parliament, these words are contained: "Whereas great sums of money must of necessity be speedily advanced and provided for the relief of his majesty's army and people in the northern parts of this realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this kingdom is in, and for supply of his majesty's present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite without credit for raising the said moneys, which credit cannot be obtained until such obstacles be first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his majesty's loyal subjects, that this present Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents and public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised," etc. By all which the very work that was between the three estates agreed to be done for the good and safety of the kingdom was in sundry particulars declared and expressed; and not only so, but, as is acknowledged by the late king himself in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, the power which

thereby was legally placed in both Houses was more than sufficient to prevent and restrain tyranny.

So that, by what hath been showed, the law itself is with me and for me, enjoining my continued attendance on the trust which by this means was committed to me, and authorized me in particular to effect the things contained in the said preamble, and to act in all matters belonging to the high court of Parliament for the good and safety of the kingdom in time of imminent danger: I had been liable to great punishment by the law, for disattendance and deserting my station therein, till lawfully or by force dismissed therefrom; and this, whatever occasions others might have, by a voluntary or forced departure from attendance upon that trust.

The actions therefore done by me in this capacity, and according to the law, privileges, customs, and power of Parliament, and that such a one as was thus extraordinarily constituted, neither are nor can be brought within the Statute of 25 Edw. III, c. 2, nor are to be questioned, tried, much less judged and sentenced, in any inferior court. Nay, so far is it from this that by a declaration and resolution of Parliament, August 13, 1642, it is adjudged to be committing treason in the highest degree to bring both or either Houses of Parliament under that or such like imputations.

Nor, till of late, have I ever heard but that those who took the judgment of Parliament for their rule and guide (however tortuous or erroneous it might afterward be accounted in succeeding times), and they that acted by and under the countenance of their declared judgments, orders, or ordinances, ever acknowledged binding during the sitting of the Parliament, were safe and indemnified from all punishment. And for government-sake itself it is requisite it should be so, because none are judges of the power and privileges of Par-

liament but themselves. For admit once that their judgment may be called in question and disputed by private persons or by inferior courts, whose votes are included in theirs, the fundamentals of government are plucked up by the roots. "*Par in pares non habet imperium, multo minus in eos qui majus imperium habent,*"—"An equal has no command over his equal, much less over those that have a greater command or authority."

His late majesty, in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, does very briefly and exactly state the nature and kind of government that is exercised in this kingdom, saying: "The laws of this kingdom are made by a king, a House of Peers, and a House of Commons, chosen by the people, all having free votes and particular privilege. These three estates, making one incorporate body, are they in whom the sovereignty and supreme power is placed as to the making and repealing of laws. And the government, according to these laws, is trusted to the king, who in the interval of Parliament is sole in the exercise of government, which, the Parliament sitting, he is to exercise in conjunction with the two Houses."

And his said majesty asserting three sorts of government, absolute monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, does most rightly distinguish the monarchy of England from all those three, and commends the constitution of this kingdom, as it is a mixture of all three, having the conveniences of them all without the inconveniences of any one, as long as the balance hangs even between the three estates, that they run jointly on in their proper channels, and that the overflowing of either on either side raise no deluge nor inundation.

By the passing of the aforesaid act for the continuance of the fore-mentioned Parliament, the intervals of Parliament

were no longer, as before, at the will and pleasure of the king, but the power to continue in the said Parliament, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution, resided in the two Houses with the king jointly, and in none of them severally, so that in effect the government of the kindom, during the continuance of that Parliament, was in conjunction of the three estates, and in their common consents and agreements among themselves given in Parliament, the assembling and meeting whereof was appointed and fixed to a place certain, by law.

By reason hereof it is not the attendance of any of the members in Parliament (for discharge of the trust reposed in them, confirmed and enlarged by the said act) that is faulty or censurable by the law, but those that unwarrantably d part and desert that their trust and station are to be blamed. 6 Hen. viii, 16.

The king, in conjunction with the Parliament, is *maxime Rex*, and is supported in the throne and exercise of his legal power by the joint concurrence of both Houses. And because, as his late majesty well observed, the happiness and good of the constitution of this government lies in keeping the balance even between the three estates, containing themselves within the bounds of their proper channels, therefore, in attempts of either to overflow those bounds, they being co-ordinate, the office of a Parliament is, by the very fundamental constitution of the government, to keep this balance well poised. And to that end, as was before mentioned, his majesty's own words are, in his said Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, "that there was legally placed in both Houses a power more than sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of tyranny." If so, than are they the legal judges, when there is danger of tyranny, and have legal power to require their judgment and

resolves to be obeyed, not only when arms are actually raised against them, but when they discern and accordingly declare a preparation toward it, else they may find it too late to prevent the power of tyranny. There is no greater attempt of tyranny than to arm against the Parliament; and there is no visible way for the restraining such tyranny but by raising arms in their own and the kingdom's defence. Less than this is not sufficient, and therefore far from more than sufficient for the punishment of delinquents and restraint of tyranny.

Unto the king, in conjunction with his two Houses, according as is provided by the law in this capacity of his, as *maxime Rex*, was the duty of allegiance to be yielded by his subjects during the indissolved state of that Parliament; for they were the king's great council and supreme court, exercising the known power and privileges that time out of mind have appertained to them, and been put forth by them, as the exigents of the kingdom have required, when differences have happened about the very title of the crown, in declaring the duty of the subject, by yielding their allegiance to kings *de facto*, when kings *de jure* have been kept out of possession. This our chronicles and the histories of former times do plentifully inform.

The causes that did happen to move his late majesty to depart from his Parliament, and continue for many years, not only at a distance and in disjunction from them, but at last in a declared posture of enmity and war against them, are so well known and fully stated in print (not to say written in characters of blood) on both parts that I shall only mention it, and refer to it.

This matter was not done in a corner: the appeals were solemn, and the decision by the sword was given by that God who, being the judge of the whole world, does right and cannot do otherwise.

By occasion of these unhappy differences thus happening, most great and unusual changes and revolutions, like an irresistible torrent, did break in upon us, not only to the disjointing that Parliamentary assembly among themselves (the head from the members, the co-ordinates from each other, and the Houses within themselves), but to the creating such formed divisions among the people, and to the producing such a general state of confusion and disorder, that hardly any were able to know their duty, and with certainty to discern who were to command and who to obey. All things seemed to be reduced, and, in a manner, resolved into their first elements and principles.

Nevertheless, as dark as such a state might be, the law of England leaves not the subject thereof (as I humbly conceive) without some glimpses of direction what to do, in the cleaving to and pursuing of which I hope I shall not be accounted nor adjudged an offender; or, if I am, I shall have the comfort and peace of my actions to support me in and under my greatest sufferings.

The resolutions of all the judges in Calvin's Case, entitled Postnati, in the 7th book of Coke's Reports, and the learned arguments thereupon, afford me instruction even in this matter. It may be it is truly thence affirmed that allegiance is due only to the king, and how due is also showed.

The king is acknowledged to have two capacities in him: one a natural, as he is descended of the blood royal of the realm; and the body natural he hath in this capacity is of the creation of Almighty God, and mortal. The other is a politic capacity, in respect of which he is a body politic or mystical, framed by the policy of man, which is immortal and invisible. To the king, in both these capacities conjoined, allegiance is due; that is to say, to the natural person of the

king, accompanied with his politic capacity, or the politic appropriated to the natural.

The politic capacity of the king hath properly no body nor soul; for it is framed by the policy of man.

In all indictments of treason, when any one does intend the death and destruction of the king, it must needs be understood of his natural body, the other being immortal. The indictment therefore concludes *contra ligeantiæ suæ debitum*, against the duty of his allegiance, so that allegiance is due to the natural body.

Admitting, then, that thus, by law, allegiance is due to the king (as before recited), yet it is always to be presumed that it is to the king, in conjunction with the Parliament, the law, and the kingdom, and not in disjunction from or opposition to them; and that while a Parliament is in being, and cannot be dissolved but by consent of the three estates.

This is therefore that which makes the matter in question a new case, that never before happened in the kingdom, nor was possible to happen, unless there had been a Parliament constituted, as this was, unsubjected to adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution, by the king's will. Where such a power is granted, and the co-ordinates thereupon disagree and fall out, such effects and consequents as these that have happened will but too probably follow. And, if either the law of nature or England inform not in such case, it will be impossible for the subjects to know their duty, when that power and command which ought to flow from three in conjunction comes to be exercised by all or either of them, singly and apart, or by two of them against one.

When new and never-heard-of changes do fall out in the kingdom, it is not likely that the known and written laws of the land should be the exact rule; but the grounds and rules of

justice contained and declared in the law of nature are and ought to be a sanctuary in such cases, even by the very common law of England, for thence originally spring the unerring rules that are set by the divine and eternal law, for rule and subjection in all states and kingdoms.

In contemplation hereof, as the resolve of all the judges, it was agreed:

1. That allegiance is due to sovereignty by the law of nature; to wit, that law which God, at the creation of man, infused into his heart for his preservation and direction, the law eternal. Yet it is not this law, as it is in the heart of every individual man, that is binding over many; or legislative, but as it is the act of a community, or an associated people, by the right dictates and persuasions of the work of this law in their hearts. This appears in the case of the Israelites (Judges xx, xxi), cited in the fourth part of Coke's Institutes, where mention is made of a parliament, without a king, that made war, and that with their brethren; they met as one man to do it, in vindication of that justice unto which they were obliged even by the law of nature. This is that which Chancellor Fortescue calls political power here in England, by which, as by the ordinance of man, in pursuance of the ordinance of God, the regal office is constituted, or the king's politic capacity, and becomes appropriated to his natural person.

Thus politic power is the immediate efflux and offspring of the law of nature, and may be called a part of it. To this Hooker in his "Ecclesiastical Polity" agrees, and Selden on that subject.

The law of nature thus considered is part of the law of England, as is evident by all the best-received law-books, Bracton, Fleta, Lambard upon the Saxon laws, and Fortescue in

the praise of the laws of England. This is the law that is before any judicial or municipal law, as the root and fountain whence these and all governments, under God and his law, do flow.

This politic power, as it is exercised in conjunction with and conformity to the eternal law, partakes of its moral and immutable nature, and cannot be changed by act of Parliament. Of this law it is that Magna Charta, and the Charter of Forest, with other statutes rehearsed in the Petition of Right, are for the most part declaratory; for they are not introductive of any new law, but confirmations of what was good in all laws of England before. This agrees with that maxim, "*Salus populi suprema lex*," that being made due and binding by this law, which in the judgment of the community, declaring their mind by their own free chosen delegates and trustees in harmony with the eternal law, appears profitable and necessary for the preservation and good of the whole society.

This is the law which is put forth by the common consent of the whole realm, in their representative, and (according to the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom) is that which the kings of this land, by the joint co-operation of the three estates, do make and repeal laws.

But through the disorders and divisions of the times these two powers, the regal and political (which, according to the law of England, make up but one and the same supreme authority), fell asunder, and found themselves in disjunction from an opposition to one another. I do not say the question is now, Which of these is most rightly (according to the principles of the law of nature and the law of England) to be adhered unto and obeyed? but unto whether power adherence is a crime in such an exigent of state? which, since it is such

a new and extraordinary case, evidently above the track of the ordinary rules contained in the positive and municipal laws of England, there can be no color to bring it within the Statute of 25 Edw. III, cap. 2, forasmuch as all statutes presuppose these two powers, regal and political, in conjunction, perfect unity, and subserviency, which this case does not, can not admit. So exceeding new and extraordinary a case is it that it may be doubted whether and questioned how far any other Parliament but that Parliament itself that was privy to all its own actings and intentions can be an indifferent and competent judge. But, however, the point is of so abstruse and high consideration as no inferior court can or ought to judge of it, as by law-books is most undeniable, to wit, Bracton, and others.

This, then, being the true state of the case, and the spring of that contest that ensued, and received its decision by the late war, the next consideration is how far I have had my share and part therein that by the laws is not warrantable, or by what appears in way of proof to the jury.

For the first, I shall crave leave to give you this account of myself, who have best known my own mind and intentions throughout, and would not now, to save my life, renounce the principles of that righteous cause which, my conscience tells me, was my duty to be faithful unto.

I do therefore humbly affirm that in the afore-mentioned great changes and revolutions, from first to last, I was never a first mover, but always a follower, choosing rather to adhere to things than persons, and (where authority was dark or dubious) to do things justifiable by the light and law of nature, as that law was acknowledged part of the law of the land; things that are *in se bona*, and such as, according to the grounds and principles of the common law, as well as

the statutes of this land, would warrant and indemnify me in doing them. For I have observed by precedents of former times, when there have arisen disputes about titles to the crown, between kings *de facto* and kings *de jure*, the people of this realm wanted not directions for their safety, and how to behave themselves within the duty and limits of allegiance to the king and kingdom in such difficult and dangerous seasons.

My Lord Coke is very clear in this point, in his chapter of Treasons, fol. 7. And, if it were otherwise, it were the hardest case that could be for the people of England; for then they would be certainly exposed to punishment from those that are in possession of the supreme power, as traitors, if they do anything against them or do not obey them. And they would be punishable as traitors by him that hath right, and is king *de jure*, in case they do obey the kings *de facto;* and so all the people of England are necessarily involved in treasons, either against the powers *de facto* or *de jure*, and may by the same reason be questioned for it, as well as the prisoner, if the act of indemnity and the king's pardon did not free them from it. The security, then, and safety of all the people of England is by this means made to depend upon a pardon (which might have been granted or denied), and not upon the sure foundations of common law,— an opinion, sure, which (duly weighed and considered) is very strange, to say no more.

For I would gladly know that person in England, of estate and fortune, and of age, that hath not counselled, aided, or abetted, either by his person or estate, and submitted to the laws and government of the powers that then were; and, if so, then, by your judgments upon me, you condemn (in effigies, and by necessary consequence) the whole kingdom.

And if that be the law, and be now known to be so, it is worth consideration whether, if it had been generally known and understood before, it might not have hindered his majesty's restoration.

Besides, although, until this judgment be passed upon me, the people have apprehended themselves as free from the question, and out of danger, by reason of the act of indemnity and general pardon, yet, when it shall appear to them that such their safety is not grounded on the common law, nor upon the law of nature, but that against both these and their actions they are found faulty, and tainted with a moral guilt, and that as principals also (since in treason there are no accessaries), what terrifying reflections must this needs stir up in the mind of every man, that will be apt to believe his turn will come next, at least once in two years, as hath befallen me in my person, who (however I have been misjudged and misunderstood) can truly affirm that, in the whole series of my actions, that which I have had in my eye hath been to preserve the ancient, well-constituted government of England on its own basis and primitive righteous foundations, most learnedly stated by Fortescue in his book made in praise of the English laws! And I did account it the most likely means for the effecting of this to preserve it, at least in its root, whatever changes and alterations it might be exposed unto in its branches, through the blusterous and stormy times that have passed over us.

This is no new doctrine in a kingdom acquainted with political power, as Fortescue shows ours is, describing it to be in effect the common assent of the realm, the will of the people or whole body of the kingdom, represented in Parliament. Nay, though this representation (as hath fallen out) be restrained for a season to the Commons house, in their single

acting, into which (as we have seen), when by the inordinate fire of the times two of the three estates have for a season been melted down, they did but retire into their root, and were not thereby in their right destroyed, but rather preserved, though as to their exercise laid for a while asleep, till the season came of their revival and restoration.

And, whatever were the intents and designs of others who are to give an account of their own actions, it is sufficient for me that at a time critical and decisive, though to my own hazard and ill-usage, I did declare my refusal of the Oath of Abjuration, which was intended to be taken by all the members of Parliament, in reference to kingly government, and the line of his now majesty in particular. This I not only positively refused to take, but was an occasion of the second thoughts which the Parliament reassumed thereof, till in a manner they came wholly at last to decline it,— a proof undeniable of the remoteness of any intentions or designs of mine as to the endeavoring any alteration or change in the government, and was that which gave such jealousy to many in the House that they were willing to take the first occasion to show their dislike of me, and to discharge me from sitting among them.

But to return to what I have before affirmed, as to my being no leading or first actor in any change: it is very apparent by my deportment at the time when that great violation of privileges happened to the Parliament, so as by force of arms several members thereof were debarred coming into the House and keeping their seats there. This made me forbear to come to the Parliament for the space of ten weeks,— to wit, from the 3d of December, 1648, till toward the middle of February following,— or to meddle in any public transactions; and during that time the matter most obvious to excep-

tion, in way of alteration of the government, did happen. I can therefore truly say that, as I had neither consent nor vote at first in the resolutions of the Houses concerning the Non-Addresses to his late majesty, so neither had I in the least any consent in or approbation to his death. But, on the contrary, when required by the Parliament to take an oath, to give my approbation *ex post facto* to what was done, I utterly refused, and would not accept of sitting in the Council of State upon those terms, but occasioned a new oath to be drawn, wherein that was omitted. Hereupon many of the Council of State sat, that would take the other.

In like manner the resolutions and votes for changing the government into a Commonwealth, or Free State, were passed some weeks before my return to Parliament; yet afterward, so far as I judged the same consonant to the principles and grounds declared in the laws of England for upholding that political power which hath given the rise and introduction in this nation to monarchy itself, by the account of ancient writers, I conceived it my duty, as the state of things did then appear to me, notwithstanding the said alteration made, to keep my station in the Parliament, and to perform my allegiance therein to king and kingdom, under the powers then regnant (upon my principles before declared), yielding obedience to their authority and commands. And having received trust in reference to the safety and preservation of the kingdom, in those times of imminent danger, both within and without, I did conscientiously hold myself obliged to be true and faithful therein. This I did upon a public account, not daring to quit my station in Parliament by virtue of my first writ. Nor was it for any private or gainful ends to profit myself or enrich my relations. This may appear as well by the great debt I have contracted as by the destitute

condition my many children are in, as to any provision made for them. And I do publicly challenge all persons whatsoever that can give any information of any bribes or covert ways used by me during the whole time of my public acting. Therefore I hope it will be evident to the consciences of the jury that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honor, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as is suggested in the indictment, by "instigation of the devil or want of the fear of God."

A second great change that happened upon the constitutions of the Parliament, and in them of the very kingdom itself, and the laws thereof (to the plucking up the liberties of it by the very roots, and the introducing of an arbitrary regal power, under the name of Protector, by force and the law of the sword), was the usurpation of Cromwell, which I opposed from the beginning to the end, to that degree of suffering and with that constancy that well near had cost me not only the loss of my estate, but of my very life, if he might have had his will, which a higher than he hindered; yet I did remain a prisoner, under great hardships, four months in an island, by his orders.

Hereby that which I have asserted is most undeniably evident, as to the true grounds and ends of my actions all along, that were against usurpation on the one hand or such extraordinary actings on the other as I doubted the laws might not warrant or indemnify, unless I were enforced thereunto by an overruling and inevitable necessity.

The third considerable change was the total disappointing and removing of the said usurpation, and the returning again of the members of Parliament to the exercise of their primitive and original trust, for the good and safety of the kingdom, so far as the state of the times would then permit them,

being so much, as they were, under the power of an army that for so long a time had influenced the government. Toward the recovery, therefore, of things again into their own channel, and upon the legal root of the people's liberties,— to wit, their common consent in Parliament, given by their own deputies and trustees,— I held it my duty to be again acting in public affairs in the capacity of a member of the said Parliament, then re-entered upon the actual exercise of their former power, or at least struggling for it. In this season I had the opportunity of declaring my true intentions as to the government, upon occasion of refusing the Oath of Abjuration before mentioned.

And whereas I am charged with keeping out his majesty that now is from exercising his regal power and royal authority in this his kingdom, through the ill will borne me by that part of the Parliament then sitting, I was discharged from being a member thereof about January 9, 1660, and by many of them was charged, or at least strongly suspected, to be a royalist. Yea, I was not only discharged from my attendance in Parliament, but confined as a prisoner at my own house, some time before there was any visible power in the nation that thought it seasonable to own the king's interest. And I hope my sitting still will not be imputed as a failure of duty, in the condition of a prisoner, and those circumstances I was then in. This I cay say, that from the time I saw his majesty's Declarations from Breda, declaring his intentions and resolutions as to his return, to take upon him the actual exercise of his regal office in England, and to indemnify all those who had been actors in the late differences and wars (as in the said Declaration doth appear), I resolved not to avoid any public question (if called thereto), as relying on mine own innocency, and his majesty's declared favor, as

before said. And for the future I determined to demean myself with that inoffensiveness and agreeableness to my duty as to give no just matter of new provocation to his majesty in his government. All this, for my part, hath been punctually observed, whatever my sufferings have been. Nor am I willing in the least to harbor any discouraging thoughts in my mind as to his majesty's generosity and favor toward me, who have been faithful to the trust I was engaged in, without any malicious intentions against his majesty, his crown, or dignity, as before hath been showed; and I am desirous for the future to walk peaceably and blamelessly.

Whatever, therefore, my personal sufferings have been since his majesty's restoration, I rather impute them to the false reports and calumnies of mine enemies, and misjudgers of my actions, than reckon them as anything that hath proceeded from his majesty's proper inclination, whose favor and clemency I have had just reason, with all humility, to acknowledge.

First, with regard to his majesty's speech, made the 27th of July, 1660, in the House of Peers, wherein his majesty expressly declared it to be no intention of his that a person under my circumstances should be excepted out of the act of indemnity, either for life or estate.

And, secondly, however it was the Parliament's pleasure (myself unheard, though then in the Tower, and ready to have been brought before them) to except me out of the common indemnity, and subject me to question for my actions, yet they themselves of their own accord (admitting the possibility that in such questioning of me I might be attainted) made it their humble desire to his majesty that in such case execution, as to my life, might be remitted. Upon this his majesty readily gave his grant and assent. And I do firmly

believe, if the Houses had pleased to give me the opportunity and leave of being heard, they would never have denied me the indemnity granted to the rest of the nation.

That which remains of further charge yet to me is the business of a regiment, an employment which I can in truth affirm mine own inclinations, nature, and breeding little fitted me for, and which was intended only as honorary and titular, with relation to volunteers, who, by their application to the Council of State, in a time of great commotions did propound their own officers, and (without any seeking of mine, or not considering any farther of it than as the use of my name), did, among others, nominate me for a colonel, which the Council of State approved, granting commissions to myself and all other officers relating thereto; and the Parliament confirmed my said commission, upon report thereof made to them.

This will appear by several witnesses I have to produce in this matter, that will be able to affirm how little I took upon me, or at all, to give any orders, or make use of such my commission, any otherwise than in name only.

It is true, indeed, that at a certain time, when I was summoned to appear at the Committee of the Militia, in Southwark, whereof I was a member, that which was called my own company of foot, from the respect which they and their officers pretended to me, were desirous to be in a posture fit for me to see them; and, as I passed by, I took the opportunity, at their desire, to show myself to them, and only, as taking notice of their respect, in some few words expressing the reason I had to receive it in good part, I told them I would no longer detain them from their other occasions. After I was gone from them, I appointed my captain-lieutenant to give them from me something to drink, as might be fitting on

such an occasion, which, to my best remembrance, was 5*l.*; and he laid it out of his own money.

More than this, as I remember, was not done by me, so much as to the seeing any more the companies of that regiment gathered together or giving orders to them, which I publicly and avowedly declined, persuading the officers to lay down their charges in mine own example so soon as I discerned the intentions of the sitting down of the Committee of Safety, and the exorbitant power committed to them to exercise, and the way of proceedings by the army, in interesting themselves in the civil government of the nation, which I utterly disliked.

And although I forbore not to keep my station, in reference to the Council of State, while they sat, or as a Commissioner of the Admiralty, during the time by them appointed to act by parliamentary authority, and so had occasion to be daily conversant with the members of the Committee of Safety (whereof myself, with others that would not accept, were named), yet I perfectly kept myself disinterested from all those actings of the army, as to any consent or approbation of mine (however, in many things, by way of discourse, I did not decline converse with them), holding it my duty to penetrate as far as I could into their true intentions and actions, but resolving within myself to hold true to my parliamentary trust in all things wherein the Parliament appeared to me to act for the safety and good of the kingdom. However, I was misinterpreted, and judged by them as one that rather favored some of the army and their power.

Upon the whole matter there is not any precedent that ever both or either of the Houses of Parliament did commit treason. For though privilege of Parliament does not so hold in treason but that particular members may be punished for

it, yet it is unprecedented that both or either Houses of Parliament, as a collective body, ever did or could commit treason.

All the acts done in Parliaments have been reversed indeed, and repealed, as what was done 11 Rich. II was repealed 21 Rich. II, and what was done 21 Rich. II was repealed 1 Hen. IV, 3, as appears by the printed statutes. Yet I do not find that both or either House of Parliament were declared traitors for what they did in those Parliaments, or that any which acted under them suffered for the same in any inferior courts. And surely the reason is obvious. For they had a co-ordinacy in the supreme or legislative power for the making, altering, and repealing laws. And, if so, "*par in parem non habet imperium.*" And, by authorities out of Bracton, Fleta, and others, it may appear what superiors the king himself hath (who yet hath no peer in his kingdom, "*nisi curiam baronum*"), God, Law, and Parliament.

And, if either or both Houses cannot commit treason, then those that act by their authority cannot. For "*Plus peccat author quam actor,*"—"The author offends more than the actor." If those that command do not nor can commit treason, how can those that act by their authority be guilty of it?

Further, I must crave leave to assert, by reason of what I see opened upon the evidence, that what is done in Parliament, or by their authority, ought not to be questioned in any other court. For every offence committed in any court must be punished in the same, or in some higher and not any inferior court. Now, the court of Parliament hath no superior court, as is said in Coke's "Jurisdiction of Courts." And the reason there given that judges ought not to give any opinion in a matter of Parliament is because it is not to be decided by the common laws, but "*secundum legem et consuetudinem*

Parliamenti." This the judges in divers Parliaments have confessed. And that reason is not to be waived, which the Lord Coke gives, that a man can make no defence; for what is said and acted there is done in council, and none ought to reveal the secrets of the House: every member hath a judicial voice, and can be no witness.

TAYLOR

JEREMY TAYLOR, a famous English divine, termed by Hannah Moore "the Shakespeare of the Church," was born at Cambridge, England, August, 1613. He was educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and took orders at the age of twenty. Gaining the favor of Laud, he was made Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and chaplain in ordinary to the king. Soon afterward he was made rector of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, and subsequently became rector of Overstone. As royal chaplain he attended King Charles to the field on the opening of the Civil War and was taken prisoner at Cardigan Castle in 1645; but held captive for a short time only. For several years he lived at Golden Grove, in Caermarthenshire, as chaplain of the Earl of Carbury and this was the period of his greatest literary activity. After the accession of Charles II he was made bishop of the Irish diocese of Down and Connor in 1661, and on August 13, 1667, he died at Lisburn, Ireland. In his youth he was strikingly handsome, being above the middle height and with fresh color in his cheeks, and his voice is said to have been extremely musical. His literary genius appears at its best in his sermons. He possessed a clear, pleasing rather than forceful style, and a very lively play of fancy. His works have kept their popularity to the present day, and his "Holy Living and Dying," the most famous of his books, still retains its high position as a devotional work.

SERMON: CHRIST'S ADVENT TO JUDGMENT

"For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."—2 Cor. v, 10.

IF we consider the person of the Judge, we first perceive that he is interested in the injury of the crimes he is to sentence: "They shall look on him whom they have pierced." It was for thy sins that the Judge did suffer such unspeakable pains as were enough to reconcile all the world to God; the sum and spirit of which pains could not be better understood than by the consequence of his own words, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" meaning that he felt such horrible, pure, unmingled sorrows that,

although his human nature was personally united to the Godhead, yet at that instant he felt no comfortable emanations by sensible perception from the Divinity, but he was so drenched in sorrow that the Godhead seemed to have forsaken him.

Beyond this nothing can be added: but then, that thou hast for thine own particular made all this in vain and ineffective, that Christ thy Lord and Judge should be tormented for nothing, that thou wouldst not accept felicity and pardon when he purchased them at so dear a price, must needs be an infinite condemnation to such persons. How shalt thou look upon him that fainted and died for love of thee, and thou didst scorn his miraculous mercies? How shall we dare to behold that holy face that brought salvation to us, and we turned away and fell in love with death, and kissed deformity and sins? and yet in the beholding that face consists much of the glories of eternity.

All the pains and passions, the sorrows and the groans, the humility and poverty, the labors and the watchings, the prayers and the sermons, the miracles and the prophecies, the whip and the nails, the death and the burial, the shame and the smart, the cross and the grave of Jesus shall be laid upon thy score if thou hast refused the mercies and design of all their holy ends and purposes. And if we remember what a calamity that was which broke the Jewish nation in pieces, when Christ came to judge them for their murdering him who was their King and the Prince of Life, and consider that this was but a dark image of the terrors of the day of judgment, we may then apprehend that there is some strange, unspeakable evil that attends them that are guilty of this death, and of so much evil to their Lord.

Now it is certain if thou wilt not be saved by his death, you

are guilty of his death; if thou wilt not suffer him to save thee, thou are guilty of destroying him; and then let it be considered what is to be expected from that Judge before whom you stand as his murderer and betrayer. But this is but half of this consideration.

Christ may be crucified again, and upon a new account put to an open shame. For after that Christ had done all this by the direct actions of his priestly office, of sacrificing himself for us, he hath also done very many things for us which are also the fruits of his first love and prosecutions of our redemption. I will not instance in the strange arts of mercy that our Lord uses to bring us to live holy lives; but I consider that things are so ordered, and so great a value set upon our souls since they are the images of God, and redeemed by the blood of the Holy Lamb, that the salvation of our souls is reckoned as a part of Christ's reward, a part of the glorification of his humanity.

Every sinner that repents causes joy to Christ, and the joy is so great that it runs over and wets the fair brows and beauteous locks of cherubims and seraphims, and all of the angels have a part of that banquet; then it is that our blessed Lord feels the fruits of his holy death, the acceptation of his holy sacrifice, the graciousness of his person, the return of his prayers. For all that Christ did or suffered, and all that he now does as a priest in heaven, is to glorify his father by bringing souls to God. For this it was that he was born and died, that he descended from heaven to earth, from life to death, from the cross to the grave; this was the purpose of his resurrection and ascension, of the end and design of all the miracles and graces of God manifested to all the world by him; and now what man is so vile, such a malicious fool, that will refuse to bring joy to his Lord by doing himself

the greatest good in the world? They who refuse to do this are said to crucify the Lord of Life again, and put him to an open shame: that is, they, as much as in them lies, bring Christ from his glorious joys to the labors of his life and the shame of his death; they advance his enemies and refuse to advance the kingdom of their Lord; they put themselves in that state in which they were when Christ came to die for them; and now that he is in a state that he may rejoice over them (for he hath done all his share toward it), every wicked man takes his head from the blessing, and rather chooses that the devil should rejoice in his destruction than that his Lord should triumph in his felicity. And now, upon the supposition of these premises, we may imagine that it will be an infinite amazement to meet that Lord to be our judge whose person we have murdered, whose honor we have disparaged, whose purposes we have destroyed, whose joys we have lessened, whose passion we have made ineffectual, and whose love we have trampled under our profane and impious feet.

But there is yet a third part of this consideration. As it will be inquired at the day of judgment concerning the dishonors to the person of Christ, so also concerning the profession and institution of Christ, and concerning his poor members; for by these also we make sad reflections upon our Lord. Every man that lives wickedly disgraces the religion and institution of Jesus; he discourages strangers from entering into it; he weakens the hands of them that are in already; and makes that the adversaries speak reproachfully of the name of Christ; but although it is certain our Lord and Judge will deeply resent all these things, yet there is one thing which he takes more tenderly, and that is, the uncharitableness of men toward his poor.

It shall then be upbraided to them by the Judge, that him-

self was hungry and they refused to give meat to him that gave them his body and heart-blood to feed them and quench their thirst, that they denied a robe to cover his nakedness, and yet he would have clothed their souls with the robe of his righteousness, lest their souls should be found naked on the day of the Lord's visitation; and all this unkindness is nothing but that evil men were uncharitable to their brethren; they would not feed the hungry, nor give drink to the thirsty, nor clothe the naked, nor relieve their brothers' needs, nor forgive their follies, nor cover their shame, nor turn their eyes from delighting in their affronts and evil accidents; this is it which our Lord will take so tenderly that his brethren for whom he died, who sucked the paps of his mother, that fed on his body and are nourished with his blood, whom he hath lodged in his heart and entertains in his bosom, the partners of his spirit and co-heirs of his inheritance, that these should be denied relief and suffered to go away ashamed and unpitied; this our blessed Lord will take so ill, that all those who are guilty of this unkindness have no reason to expect the favor of the Court.

To this if we add the almightiness of the Judge, his infinite wisdom and knowledge of all causes, and all persons, and all circumstances; that he is infinitely just, inflexibly angry, and impartial in his sentence,— there can be nothing added either to the greatness or the requisites of a terrible and an almighty Judge. For who can resist him who is almighty? Who can evade his scrutiny that knows all things? Who can hope for pity of him that is inflexible? Who can think to be exempted when the Judge is righteous and impartial? But in all these annexes of the great Judge, that which I shall now remark is that indeed which hath terror in it, and that is, the severity of the Lord. For then is the day of vengeance

and recompenses, and no mercy at all shall be showed but to them that are the sons of mercy; for the other, their portion is such as can be expected from these premises. . . .

The Judge shall appear clothed with wisdom, and power, and justice, and knowledge, and an impartial spirit, making no separations by the proportions of this world, but by the measures of God; not giving sentence by the principles of our folly and evil customs, but by the severity of his own laws and measures of the Spirit. "God does not judge as man judges."

Now that the Judge is come thus arrayed, thus prepared, so instructed, let us next consider the circumstances of our appearing and his sentence; and first I consider that men at the day of judgment that belong not to the portion of life shall have three sorts of accusers:

1. Christ himself, who is their Judge.

2. Their own conscience, whom they have injured and blotted with characters of death and foul dishonor.

3. The devil, their enemy, whom they served.

1. Christ shall be their accuser, not only upon the stock of those direct injuries (which I before reckoned) of crucifying the Lord of life, once and again, etc., but upon the titles of contempt and unworthiness, of unkindness and ingratitude; and the accusation will be nothing else but a plain representation of those artifices and assistances, those bonds and invitations, those constrainings and importunities, which our dear Lord used to us to make it almost impossible to lie in sin, and necessary to be saved.

For it will, it must needs be, a fearful exprobration of our unworthiness, when the Judge himself shall bear witness against us that the wisdom of God himself was strangely employed in bringing us safely to felicity. I shall draw a short

scheme, which, although it must needs be infinitely short of what God hath done for us, yet it will be enough to shame us. God did not only give his Son for an example, and the Son gave himself for a price for us, but both gave the Holy Spirit to assist us in mighty graces, for the verifications of faith, and the entertainments of hope, and the increase and perseverance of charity.

God gave to us a new nature, he put another principle into us, a third part of a perfective constitution; we have the Spirit put into us, to be a part of us, as properly to produce actions of a holy life, as the soul of man in the body does produce the natural. God hath exalted human nature and made it in the person of Jesus Christ, to sit above the highest seat of angels, and the angels are made ministering spirits ever since their Lord became our brother. Christ hath by a miraculous sacrament given us his body to eat and his blood to drink, he made ways that we may become all one with him. He hath given us an easy religion, and hath established our future felicity upon natural and pleasant conditions, and we are to be happy hereafter if we suffer God to make us happy here; and things are so ordered that a man must take more pains to perish than to be happy. God hath found out rare ways to make our prayers acceptable, our weak petitions, the desires of our imperfect souls, to prevail mightily with God, and to lay a holy violence and an undeniable necessity upon himself; and God will deny us nothing but when we ask of him to do us ill offices, to give us poisons, and dangers, and evil nourishment, and temptations; and he that hath given such mighty power to the prayers of his servants, yet will not be moved by those potent and mighty prayers to do any good man an evil turn, or to grant him one mischief,— in that only God can deny us. But in all things else God hath made all the excel-

lent things in heaven and earth to join toward holy and fortunate effects; for he hath appointed an angel to present the prayers of saints, and Christ makes intercession for us, and the Holy Spirit makes intercession for us with groans unutterable, and all the holy men in the world pray for all and for every one, and God hath instructed us with scriptures, and precedents, and collateral and direct assistances to pray, and he encouraged us with divers excellent promises, and parables, and examples, and teaches us what to pray, and how, and gives one promise to public prayer, and another to private prayer, and to both the blessing of being heard.

Add to this account that God did heap blessings upon us without order, infinitely, perpetually, and in all instances, when we needed and when we needed not. He heard us when we prayed, giving us all, and giving us more than, we desired. He desired that we should ask, and yet he hath also prevented our desires. He watched for us, and at his own charge sent a whole order of men whose employment is to minister to our souls; and if all this had not been enough, he had given us more also. He promised heaven to our obedience, a province for a dish of water, a kingdom for a prayer, satisfaction for desiring it, grace for receiving, and more grace for accepting and using the first. He invited us with gracious words and perfect entertainments; he threatened horrible things to us if we would not be happy; he hath made strange necessities for us, making our very repentance to be a conjugation of holy actions, and holy times, and a long succession; he hath taken away all excuses from us; he hath called us off from temptation; he bears our charges; he is always beforehand with us in every act of favor, and perpetually slow in striking, and his arrows are unfeathered; and he is so long, first, in drawing his sword, and another

long while in whetting it, and yet longer in lifting his hand to strike, that before the blow comes the man hath repented long, unless he be a fool and impudent; and then God is so glad of an excuse to lay his anger aside, that certainly, if after all this, we refuse life and glory, there is no more to be said; this plain story will condemn us: but the story is very much longer; and, as our conscience will represent all our sins to us, so the Judge will represent all his Father's kindnesses, as Nathan did to David, when he was to make the justice of the divine sentence appear against him.

Then it shall be remembered that the joys of every day's piety would have been a greater pleasure every night than the remembrance of every night's sin could have been in the morning; that every night the trouble and labor of the day's virtue would have been as much passed and turned to as very a nothing as the pleasure of that day's sin, but that they would be infinitely distinguished by the remanent effects. So Musonius expressed the sense of this inducement; and that this argument would have grown so great by that time we come to die that the certain pleasures, and rare confidences, and holy hopes of a death-bed would be a strange felicity to the man when he remembers he did obey, if they were compared to the fearful expectations of a dying sinner, who feels by a formidable and affrighting remembrance that of his sins nothing remains but the gains of a miserable eternity.

The offering ourselves to God every morning, and the thanksgiving to God every night, hope and fear, shame and desire, the honor of leaving a fair name behind us, and the shame of dying like a fool,— everything indeed in the world is made to be an argument and an inducement to us to invite us to come to God and be saved; and therefore when this, and infinitely more, shall by the Judge be exhibited in sad remem-

brances, there needs no other sentence; we shall condemn ourselves with a hasty shame and a fearful confusion to see how good God hath been to us and how base we have been to ourselves. Thus Moses is said to accuse the Jews; and thus also he that does accuse is said to condemn, as Verres was by Cicero, and Claudia by Domitius her accuser, and the world of impenitent persons by the men of Nineveh, and all by Christ, their Judge. I represent the horror of this circumstance to consist in this, besides the reasonableness of the judgment, and the certainty of the condemnation, it cannot but be an argument of an intolerable despair to perishing souls, when he that was our Advocate all our life, shall, in the day of that appearing, be our Accuser and our Judge, a party against us, an injured person in the day of his power and of his wrath, doing execution upon all his own foolish and malicious enemies.

2. Our conscience shall be our accuser. But this signifies but these two things:

First. That we shall be condemned for the evils that we have done, and shall then remember, God by his power wiping away the dust from the tables of our memory and taking off the consideration and the voluntary neglect and rude shuffings of our cases of conscience. For then we shall see things as they are, the evil circumstances and the crooked intentions, the adherent unhandsomeness and the direct crimes; for all things are laid up safely, and though we draw a curtain of cobweb over them, and few fig-leaves before our shame, yet God shall draw away the curtain, and forgetfulness shall be no more, because, with a taper in the hand of God, all the corners of our nastiness shall be discovered.

And, secondly, it signifies this also, that not only the justice of God shall be confessed by us in our own shame and con-

demnation, but the evil of the sentence shall be received into us, to melt our bowels and to break our heart in pieces within us, because we are the authors of our own death, and our own inhuman hands have torn our souls in pieces. Thus far the horrors are great, and, when evil men consider it, it is certain they must be afraid to die. Even they that have lived well have some sad considerations, and the tremblings of humility, and suspicion of themselves. I remember St. Cyprian tells of a good man who in his agony of death saw a phantasm of a noble and angelical shape, who, frowning and angry, said to him: "Ye cannot endure sickness, ye are troubled at the evils of the world, and yet you are loth to die and to be quit of them; what shall I do to you?"

Although this is apt to represent every man's condition more or less, yet, concerning persons of wicked lives, it hath in it too many sad degrees of truth; they are impatient of sorrow, and justly fearful of death, because they know not how to comfort themselves in the evil accidents of their lives; and their conscience is too polluted to take death for sanctuary, and to hope to have amends made to their condition by the sentence of the day of judgment. Evil and sad is their condition who cannot be contented here nor blessed hereafter, whose life is their misery and their conscience is their enemy, whose grave is their prison and death their undoing, and the sentence of doomsday the beginning of an intolerable condition!

3. The third sort of accusers are the devils, and they will do it with malicious and evil purposes. The prince of the devils hath Diabolus for one of his chiefest appellatives. The accuser of the brethren he is by his professed malice and employment; and therefore God, who delights that his mercy should triumph and his goodness prevail over all the malice of

men and devils, hath appointed one whose office is to reprove the accuser and to resist the enemy, and to be a defender of their cause who belong to God. The Holy Spirit is a defender; the evil spirit is the accuser; and they that in this life belong to one or the other shall in the same proportion be treated at the day of judgment. The devil shall accuse the brethren, that is, the saints and servants of God, and shall tell concerning their follies and infirmities, the sins of their youth and the weakness of their age, the imperfect grace and the long schedule of omissions of duty, their scruples and their fears, their diffidences and pusillanimity, and all those things which themselves by strict examination find themselves guilty of and have confessed, all their shame and the matter of their sorrows, their evil intentions and their little plots, their carnal confidences and too fond adherences to the things of this world, their indulgence and easiness of government, their wilder joys and freer meals, their loss of time and their too forward and apt compliances, their trifling arrests and little peevishnesses, the mixtures of the world with the things of the Spirit, and all the incidences of humanity he will bring forth and aggravate them by the circumstance of ingratitude, and the breach of promise, and the evacuating all their holy purposes, and breaking their resolutions, and rifling their vows, and all these things, being drawn into an entire representment, and the bills clogged by numbers, will make the best man in the world seem foul and unhandsome, and stained with the characters of death and evil dishonor. But for these there is appointed a defender.

The Holy Spirit that maketh intercession for us shall then also interpose, and against all these things shall oppose the passion of our Blessed Lord, and upon their defects shall cast the robe of his righteousness; and the sins of their youth shall

not prevail so much as the repentance of their age, and their omissions be excused by probable intervening causes, and their little escapes shall appear single and in disunion, because they were always kept asunder by penitential prayers and sighings, and their seldom returns of sin by their daily watchfulness, and their often infirmities by the sincerity of their souls, and their scruples by their zeal, and their passions by their love, and all by the mercies of God and the sacrifice which their Judge offered and the Holy Spirit made effective by daily graces and assistances. These, therefore, infallibly go to the portion of the right hand, because the Lord our God shall answer for them.

But as for the wicked, it is not so with them; for although the plain story of their life be to them a sad condemnation, yet what will be answered when it shall be told concerning them that they despised God's mercies and feared not his angry judgments; that they regarded not his word and loved not his excellencies; that they were not persuaded by the promises nor affrighted by his threatenings; that they neither would accept his government nor his blessings; that all the sad stories that ever happened in both the worlds (in all which himself did escape till the day of his death, and was not concerned in them save only that he was called upon by every one of them, which he ever heard or saw or was told of, to repentance), that all these were sent to him in vain?

But cannot the accuser truly say to the Judge concerning such persons, "They were thine by creation, but mine by their own choice; thou didst redeem them indeed, but they sold themselves to me for a trifle or for an unsatisfying interest; thou diedst for them, but they obeyed my commandments; I gave them nothing, I promised them nothing but the filthy pleasures of a night, or the joys of madness, or the

delights of a disease; I never hanged upon the cross three long hours for them, nor endured the labors of a poor life thirty-three years together for their interest; only when they were thine by the merit of thy death, they quickly became mine by the demerit of their ingratitude; and when thou hadst clothed their soul with thy robe, and adorned them by thy graces, we stripped them naked as their shame, and only put on a robe of darkness, and they thought themselves secure and went dancing to their grave like a drunkard to a fight, or a fly unto a candle; and therefore they that did partake with us in our faults must divide with us in our portion and fearful interest."

This is a sad story because it ends in death, and there is nothing to abate or lessen the calamity. It concerns us, therefore, to consider in time that he that tempts us will accuse us, and that what he calls pleasant now he shall then say was nothing, and all the gains that now invite earthly souls and mean persons to vanity was nothing but the seeds of folly, and the harvest is pain and sorrow and shame eternal. But then, since this horror proceeds upon the account of so many accusers, God hath put it into our power, by a timely accusation of ourselves in the tribunal of the court Christian, to prevent all the arts of aggravation which at doomsday shall load foolish and undiscerning souls. He that accuses himself of his crimes here, means to forsake them, and looks upon them on all sides, and spies out his deformity, and is taught to hate them, he is instructed and prayed for, he prevents the anger of God and defeats the devil's malice, and, by making shame the instrument of repentance, he takes away the sting and makes that to be his medicine which otherwise would be his death: and, concerning this exercise, I shall only add what the patriarch of Alexandria told an old religious person in his

hermitage. Having asked him what he found in that desert, he was answered, "Only this, to judge and condemn myself perpetually; that is the employment of my solitude." The patriarch answered, "There is no other way." By accusing ourselves we shall make the devil's malice useless, and our own consciences clear, and be reconciled to the Judge by the severities of an early repentance, and then we need to fear no accusers.

BAXTER

RICHARD BAXTER, a famous English devotional writer and pulpit orator, was born at Eaton-Constantine, near Shrewsbury, England, November 12, 1615. He studied for the ministry, was ordained in 1638, and from 1641 to 1660 was vicar of Kidderminster. He belonged, during this period, to the Presbyterian party in the Established Church, but was moderate in his views, and, while friendly to the Nonconformists, was not opposed to the monarchy and did not desire the abolition of the episcopate. On these and other controverted points he always uttered his sentiments with entire freedom and very little regard to his personal safety. He went to London in 1660, and, having supported the Restoration, was offered the bishopric of Hereford by Charles II, which, however, he declined, and on the passage of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, he seceded formally from the Church of England and thereafter preached frequently to Nonconformists. For this he was several times imprisoned, and in the reign of James II he was accused of sedition for reflecting on the office of bishops. Although the contrary was shown by his writings, a verdict against him was secured, and he was imprisoned for eighteen months. He died in London, December 8, 1691. Baxter was a very popular preacher, and his sermons were listened to with the deepest attention by crowds of people. He was a man of extraordinary gifts, and, despite his feeble constitution, not only distinguished himself in the pulpit, but was one of the most voluminous writers of his time, publishing over a hundred and fifty books. The "Saint's Everlasting Rest," published in 1650, is one of the most popular of religious books ever issued, and a literary masterpiece. Among his other works may be mentioned: "A Call to the Unconverted" (1657); "The Fool's Prosperity" (1659); "Catholic Theology" (1675); "Treatise of Episcopacy" (1681); "Dying Thoughts" (1683); "Certainty of the World of Spirits" (1691); "Reliquæ Baxterianæ" (1696).

FROM SERMON ON MAKING LIGHT OF CHRIST

THINGS that men highly value will be remembered; they will be matter of their freest and sweetest thoughts.

Do not those, then, make light of Christ and salvation that think of them so seldom and coldly in comparison of other things? Follow thy own heart, man, and observe what it daily runneth out after; and then judge whether it make not light of Christ.

We cannot persuade men to one hour's sober consideration what they should do for an interest in Christ, or in thankfulness for his love, and yet they will not believe that they make light of him.

Things that we highly value will be matter of our discourse; the judgment and heart will command the tongue. Freely and delightfully will our speech run after them.

Do not those, then, make light of Chirst and salvation that shun the mention of his name unless it be in a vain or sinful use; those that love not the company where Christ and salvation is much talked of, but think it troublesome, precise discourse; that had rather hear some merry jests, or idle tales, or talk of their riches or business in the world? When you may follow them from morning to night, and scarce have a savory word of Christ, but perhaps some slight and weary mention of him sometimes; judge whether these make not light of Christ and salvation. How seriously do they talk of the world (Ps. cxliv, 8, 11) and speak vanity! But how heartlessly do they make mention of Christ and salvation!

The things that we highly value we would secure the possession of, and therefore would take any convenient course to have all doubts and fears about them well resolved. Do not those men, then, make light of Christ and salvation that have lived twenty or thirty years in uncertainty whether they have any part in these or not, and yet never seek out for the right resolution of their doubts? Are all that hear me this day certain they shall be saved? O that they were! Oh, had you not made light of salvation, you could not so easily bear such doubtings of it; you could not rest till you had made it sure or done your best to make it sure. Have you nobody to inquire of, that might help you in such work? Why, you have ministers that are purposely appointed to that

office. Have you gone to them, and told them the doubtfulness of your case, and asked their help in the judging of your condition? Alas, ministers may sit in their studies from one year to another before ten persons among one thousand will come to them on such an errand! Do not these make light of Christ and salvation? When the Gospel pierceth the heart indeed, they cry out, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?" (Acts xvi, 30; ix, 6). Trembling and astonished, Paul cries out, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And so did the convinced Jews to Peter (Acts ii, 37). But when hear we such questions?

The things that we value do deeply affect us, and some motions will be in the heart according to our estimation of them. Oh, sirs, if men made not light of these things, what workings would there be in the hearts of all our hearers! What strange affections would it raise in them to hear of the matters of the world to come! How would their hearts melt before the power of the gospel! What sorrow would be wrought in the discovery of their sins! What astonishment at the consideration of their misery! What unspeakable joy at the glad tidings of salvation by the blood of Christ! What resolution would be raised in them upon the discovery of their duty! Oh, what hearers should we have if it were not for this sin! whereas now we are more likely to weary them, or preach them asleep with matters of this unspeakable moment. We talk to them of Christ and salvation till we make their heads ache: little would one think by their careless carriage that they heard and regarded what we said, or thought we spoke at all to them.

Our estimation of things will be seen in the diligence of our endeavors. That which we most highly value we shall think no pains too great to obtain. Do not those men, then,

make light of Christ and salvation that think all too much that they do for them; that murmur at his service, and think it too grievous for them to endure? That ask of his service as Judas of the ointment, "What need this waste? Cannot men be saved without so much ado? This is more ado than needs." For the world they will labor all the day and all their lives; but for Christ and salvation they are afraid of doing too much. Let us preach to them as long as we will, we cannot bring them to relish or resolve upon a life of holiness. Follow them to their houses, and you shall not hear them read a chapter, nor call upon God with their families once a day; nor will they allow him that one day in seven which he hath separated to his service. But pleasure, or worldly business, or idleness, must have a part. And many of them are so far hardened as to reproach them that will not be mad as themselves. And is not Christ worth the seeking? Is not everlasting salvation worth more than all this? Doth not that soul make light of all these that thinks his ease more worth than they? Let but common sense judge.

That which we most highly value we think we cannot buy too dear: Christ and salvation are freely given, and yet the most of men go without them, because they cannot enjoy the world and them together. They are called but to part with that which would hinder them from Christ, and they will not do it. They are called but to give God his own, and to resign all to his will, and let go the profits and pleasures of this world, when they must let go either Christ or them, and they will not. They think this too dear a bargain, and say they cannot spare these things: they must hold their credit with men; they must look to their estates; how shall they live else? They must have their pleasure, whatsoever becomes of Christ and salvation: as if they could live without Christ

better than without these: as if they were afraid of being losers by Christ, or could make a saving match by losing their souls to gain the world. Christ hath told us over and over that if we will not forsake all for him we cannot be his disciples (Matt. x). Far are these men from forsaking all, and yet will needs think that they are his disciples indeed.

That which men highly esteem they would help their friends to as well as themselves. Do not those men make light of Christ and salvation that can take so much care to leave their children portions in the world and do so little to help them to heaven; that provide outward necessaries so carefully for their families, but do so little to the saving of their souls? Their neglected children and friends will witness that either Christ or their children's souls, or both, were made light of.

That which men highly esteem they will so diligently seek after that you may see it in the success, if it be a matter within their reach. You may see how many make light of Christ, by the little knowledge they have of him, and the little communion with him, and communication from him; and the little, yea, none of his special grace in them. Alas! how many ministers can speak it to the sorrow of their hearts, that many of their people know almost nothing of Christ, though they hear of him daily; nor know they what they must do to be saved. If we ask them an account of these things, they answer as if they understood not what we say to them, and tell us they are no scholars, and therefore think they are excusable for their ignorance. Oh, if these men had not made light of Christ and their salvation, but had bestowed but half so much pains to know and enjoy him as they have done to understand the matters of their trades and callings in the world, they would not have been so ignorant as they are. They make light of these things, and therefore will not be at

the pains to study or learn them. When men that can learn the hardest trade in a few years have not learned a catechism nor how to understand their creed under twenty or thirty years' preaching, nor cannot abide to be questioned about such things; doth not this show that they have slighted them in their hearts? How will these despisers of Christ and salvation be able one day to look him in the face and to give an account of these neglects?

Thus much I have spoken in order to your conviction. Do not some of your consciences by this time smite you and say, "I am the man that have made light of my salvation?" If they do not, it is because you make light of it still, for all that is said to you. But because, if it be the will of the Lord, I would fain have this damning distemper cured, and am loath to leave you in such a desperate condition; if I knew how to remedy it, I will give you some considerations which may move you, if you be men of reason and understanding, to look better about you; and I beseech you to weigh them, and make use of them as we go, and lay open your hearts to the work of grace, and sadly bethink you what a case you are in if you prove such as make light of Christ.

Consider: 1. Thou makest light of him that made not light of thee who didst deserve it. Thou wast worthy of nothing but contempt. As a man, what art thou but a worm to God? As a sinner, thou art far viler than a toad: yet Christ was so far from making light of thee and thy happiness that he came down into the flesh, and lived a life of suffering, and offered himself a sacrifice to the justice which thou hadst provoked, that thy miserable soul might have a remedy. It is no less than miracles of love and mercy that he hath showed to us: and yet shall we slight them after all?

Angels admire them, whom they less concern, and shall

redeemed sinners make light of them? What barbarous, yea, devilish, yea, worse than devilish ingratitude is this! The devils never had a Saviour offered them, but thou hast, and dost thou yet make light of him?

2. Consider the work of man's salvation by Jesus Christ is the masterpiece of all the works of God, wherein he would have his love and mercy to be magnified. As the creation declareth his goodness and power, so doth redemption his goodness and mercy; he hath contrived the very frame of his worship so that it shall much consist in the magnifying of this work; and after all this, will you make light of it? "His name is wonderful" (Is. ix, 6). "He did the work that none could do" (John xv, 24). "Greater love could none show than his" (John xv, 13). How great was the evil and misery that he delivered us from; the good procured for us! All are wonders, from his birth to his ascension, from our new birth to our glorification; all are wonders of matchless mercy: and yet do you make light of them!

RUMBOLD

RICHARD RUMBOLD, an English soldier and patriot, was born about 1622. He entered the Parliamentary army at eighteen, was one of the guards on the scaffold at the execution of Charles I, and served under Cromwell at the battles of Worcester and Dunbar. After the Restoration, in 1660, he took up the maltster's trade at Rye House in Hertfordshire. An extreme republican in his views, he is supposed to have planned in 1682 the assassination of Charles II and the Duke of York, but except the purchase of arms nothing had been done to further the movement before the conspiracy was revealed in June, 1683, by one of the conspirators, who named Rumbold as its head. Rumbold succeeded in escaping to Holland, while an indictment for high treason was brought against him. In May, 1685, he joined the expedition of the Earl of Argyle into Scotland, and, falling into the hands of the Scottish authorities, was tried and executed on the same day in Edinburgh, June 26, 1685. Rumbold declared his innocence of any treasonable intent against the king, in a speech from the scaffold which contains several memorable sentences.

SPEECH FROM THE SCAFFOLD

DELIVERED AT THE MARKET CROSS AT EDINBURGH, JUNE 26, 1685

GENTLEMEN AND BRETHREN,— It is for all men that come unto the world once to die, and after death to judgment; and since death is a debt that all of us must pay, it is but a matter of small moment what way it be done; and seeing the Lord is pleased in this manner to take me to himself, I confess, something hard to flesh and blood, yet, blessed be his name, who hath made me not only willing but thankful for his honoring me to lay down the life he gave, for his name; in which, were every hair in this head and beard of mine a life, I should joyfully sacrifice them for it, as I do this. And, Providence having brought me hither,

I think it most necessary to clear myself of some aspersions laid on my name; and first, that I should have had so horrid an intention of destroying the king and his brother.

[Here he repeated what he had said before to the justices on this subject.]

It was also laid to my charge that I was anti-monarchical.

It was ever my thought that kingly government was the best of all, justly executed: I mean, such as by our ancient laws; that is, a king, and a legal, free-chosen Parliament, the king having, as I conceive, power enough to make him great; the people also as much property as to make them happy; they being, as it were, contracted to one another. And who will deny me that this was not the just constituted government of our nation? How absurd is it, then, for men of sense to maintain that though the one party of this contract breaketh all conditions, the other should be obliged to perform their part? No; this error is contrary to the law of God, the law of nations, and the law of reason. But as pride hath been the bait the devil hath catched most by ever since the creation, so it continues to this day with us. Pride caused our first parents to fall from the blessed estate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiser than God allowed, which brought an everlasting curse on them and their posterity. It was pride caused God to drown the old world. And it was Nimrod's pride in building Babel that caused that heavy curse of division of tongues to be spread among us, as it is at this day one of the greatest afflictions the Church of God groaneth under, that there should be so many divisions during their pilgrimage here; but this is their comfort that the day draweth near where, as there is but one shepherd, there shall be but one sheepfold. It was therefore in the defence of this

party, in their just rights and liberties, against popery and slavery ——

[At these words they beat the drums: at which he said they need not trouble themselves, for he should say no more of his mind on that subject, since they were so disingenuous as to interrupt a dying man; only to assure the people that he adhered to the true Protestant religion, detesting the erroneous opinions of many that called themselves so, and continued:]

—— and I die this day in the defence of the ancient laws and liberties of these nations. And though God, for reasons best known to himself, hath not seen fit to honor us as to make us the instruments for the deliverance of his people; yet, as I have lived, so I die in the faith, that he will speedily arise for the deliverance of his Church and people. And I desire of all you to prepare for this with speed. I may say, This is a deluded generation, vailed with ignorance, that though popery and slavery be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; though I am sure there was no man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ride him; not but that I am well satisfied that God hath wisely ordered different stations for men in the world, as I have already said: kings having as much power as to make them great, and the people as much property as to make them happy. And to conclude, I shall only add my wishes for the salvation of all men, who were created for that end.

BOSSUET

JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET was born at Dijon, in Burgundy, on September 27, 1627. His father, a councillor in the Parliament of Metz, left his children to the care of their uncle, who was a councillor in the Parliament of Dijon. Young Bossuet received his early education at the College of Jesuits in the town just named; in 1642, at the age of fifteen, he went to complete his studies at the College of Navarre, in Paris. In 1650 he became a licentiate in theology at Metz, and, two years later, a doctor in theology; ordained a priest, he was placed at the head of an ecclesiastical mission sent to Lorraine to convert the Protestants of that country. In 1657, having already become celebrated for his sermons, he was called to Paris, and there preached for three successive years in the Convent of St. Thomas d'Aquinas. In 1661 he was invited to preach at the Louvre, before the King, Louis XIV. Eight years later he was called upon to pronounce the funeral oration of the Queen Dowager of England, Henriette of France, widow of Charles I. The eloquence which he exhibited on this occasion brought him the bishopric of Condom, and soon afterward the post of tutor to the Dauphin of France. In 1670 he delivered a funeral oration on Henriette of England, daughter of Henriette of France and Charles I., who had married the Duc d'Orleans, younger brother of Louis XIV. In 1671, Bossuet was elected a member of the French Academy. The education of the Dauphin was finished in 1682, and his preceptor was rewarded by a nomination to the bishopric of Meaux. Thenceforward, with the exception of a few funeral orations, his life was entirely devoted to controversial writings and to the defence of the Catholic faith. He died, at the age of seventy-seven, in 1704. In the oration, a part of which is here reproduced, the eulogy on the Prince de Condé, who, with the possible exception of Turenne, was the foremost captain of the seventeenth century, Bossuet is thought to have touched the height of sublimity.

FUNERAL ORATION ON THE PRINCE DE CONDE

IN beginning this address, in which I purpose to celebrate the immortal glory of Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, I feel myself overweighted both by the grandeur of the subject and, to be frank, by the fruitlessness of the effort. What part of the inhabited world has

not heard of the victories of the Prince de Condé and the wonders of his life? They are recounted everywhere; the Frenchman who boasts of them in the presence of the foreigner tells him nothing which the latter does not know; and in no matter how exalted a strain I might sound his praises, I should still feel that in your hearts you were convinced that I deserved the reproach of falling far short of doing him justice. An orator, feeble as he is, cannot do anything for the perpetuation of the glory of extraordinary souls. Le Sage was right when he said that "their deeds alone can praise them"; no other praise is of any effect where great names are concerned; and it needs but the simple story of his deeds faithfully recorded to sustain the glory of the Prince de Condé. But, while awaiting the appearance of the history which is to tell the story of his life to coming ages, it is necessary to satisfy as best we may the public recognition of his merit and bow to the order of the greatest of all sovereigns. What does not the kingdom owe to a prince who has honored the house of France, the French name, his century, and, so to speak, all mankind? Louis the Great himself shares these sentiments; after having mourned this great man, and by his tears, shed in the presence of his entire court, rather than by words, uttered the most glorious eulogy he could receive, he assembled together in this celebrated temple all that is most august in his realm, in order that the last rites to the memory of this prince might there be celebrated; and he wishes that my feeble voice should animate all this funeral equipage. Let us try, then, to forget our grief. Here an object greater and worthier of this pulpit presents itself to my mind: it is God who makes warriors and conquerors. "It is thou," said David unto Him, "who hast trained my

hand to battle, and my fingers to hold the sword." If He inspires courage, no less is He the bestower of other great qualities, both of heart and of mind. His mighty hand is the source of everything; it is He who sends from heaven generous sentiments, wise counsels and every worthy thought. But He wishes us to know how to distinguish between the gifts He abandons to His enemies and those He reserves for His servants. What distinguishes His friends from all others is piety. Until this gift of Heaven has been received, all others not only are as naught, but even bring ruin on those who are endowed with them; without this inestimable gift of piety what would the Prince de Condé have been, even with his great heart and great genius? No, my brethren, if piety had not, as it were, consecrated his other virtues, these princes would have found no consolation for their grief, nor this pontiff any confidence in his prayers, nor would I myself utter with conviction the praises which I owe so great a man. Let us, by this example, then, set human glory at naught; let us destroy the idol of the ambitious, that it might fall to pieces before this altar. Let us to-day join together (for with a subject so noble we may do it) all the finest qualities of a superior nature; and, for the glory of truth, let us demonstrate, in a prince admired of the universe, that what makes heroes, that what carries to the highest pitch worldly glory, worth, magnanimity, natural goodness—all attributes of the heart; vivacity, penetration, grandeur and sublimity of genius—attributes of the mind; would be but an illusion were piety not a part of them—in a word, that piety is the essence of the man. It is this, gentlemen, which you will see in the forever memorable life of the most high and mighty Prince Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, first prince of the blood.

God has revealed to us that He alone creates conquerors, and that He makes them serve his designs. What other created a Cyrus if it is not God who named him two hundred years before his birth in the Prophecies of Isaiah? "Thou art as yet unborn," He said unto him, "but I see thee, and I named thee by thy name; thou shalt be called Cyrus. I will walk before thee in battle; at thy approach I will put kings to flight; I will break down doors of brass. It is I that stretch out the heavens, that support the earth, that name that which is not as that which is," that is to say, it is I that create everything and I that see, from eternity, all that I create. What other could fashion an Alexander, if it is not this same God who caused the unquenchable ardor of Daniel, His prophet, to see from so great a distance and by means of foreshadowings so vivid. "Do you see him," he says, "this conqueror; with what rapidity he rises from the west by bounds, as it were, and touches not the earth?" In the boldness of his leaps, and the lightness of his tread like unto some powerful and frisking beast, he advances by quick and impetuous bounds, and nor mountain nor precipice arrests his progress. Already has the King of Persia fallen into his hands. "At his sight he was exasperated; *efferatus est in eum*," says the prophet; "he strikes him down, he tramples him under foot; none can save him from his blows nor cheat him of his prey." But to hear these words of Daniel, whom would you suppose you perceived, gentlemen, under that figure of speech —Alexander or the Prince de Condé? God gave him that dauntless valor that France might enjoy safety during the minority of a king but four years old. Let him grow up, this king, cherished of Heaven, and all will yield to his exploits; rising above his own followers, as well as his

enemies, he will know how sometimes to make use of, and at others to dispense with, his most illustrious captains, and alone, under the hand of God, who will be his constant aid, he will be seen to be the stanch rampart of his dominions. But God chose the Duc d'Enghien to defend him in his infancy. So, toward the first days of his reign, at the age of twenty-two years, the duke conceived a plan in the armor of which the seasoned veterans could find no vulnerable point; but victory justified his course at Rocroi. The opposing force, it is true, is stronger; it is composed of those old Walloon, Italian and Spanish regiments that, up to that time, could not be broken; but at what valuation should be placed the courage inspired in our troops by the pressing necessities of the state, by past successes, and by a young prince of the blood in whose eyes could be read victory? Don Francisco de Mellos awaits the onset with a firm foot; and, without being able to retreat, the two generals and the two armies seemed to have wished to imprison themselves in the woods and the marshes in order to decide the issue of combat like two champions in the lists. Then what a sight is presented to the eye! The young prince appears another man; touched by an object so worthy, his great soul displays all its sublimity; his courage waxes with the dangers it has to encounter and his penetration becomes keener as his ardor increases. That night, which had to be spent in the presence of the enemy, like the vigilant commander that he was, he was the last to retire. But never were his slumbers more peaceful. On the eve of so momentous a day, when the first battle is to be fought, his mind is entirely tranquil, so thoroughly is he in his element; and it is well known that, on the morrow, at the hour he had indicated, it was neces-

sary to awaken this second Alexander from a deep slumber. Do you see him as he rushes on to victory or death? No sooner had he inspired the ranks with the ardor with which his soul was animated than he was seen almost at the same time to press the right wing of the enemy, support our own shaken by the shock of the charge, rally the disheartened and almost vanquished French forces, put to flight the victorious Spaniards, carrying dismay everywhere, and terrifying by his lightning glances those who escape his blows. There still remained that dreaded infantry of the Spanish army, whose great battalions in close line of battle like so many towers, but towers which knew how to repair their breaches, were unshaken by the onset, and, though the rest of the army was put to rout, maintained a steady fire. Thrice the young conqueror attempted to break the ranks of these intrepid warriors, thrice was he repulsed by the valorous Comte de Fontaines, who was borne to the scene of combat in his invalid's chair, by reason of his bodily infirmities, thus demonstrating that the warrior's soul has the ascendant over the body it animates. But at last was he forced to yield. In vain does Beck, with a body of fresh cavalry, hasten his march through the woods in order to attack our exhausted soldiers; the prince has forestalled him; the defeated battalions are asking quarter. But victory for the Duc d'Enghien was destined to be more terrible than the combat. While, with an air of confidence, he advances to receive the surrender of these brave fellows, they, on their part, still on their guard, are in dread of being surprised by a fresh attack. The frightful havoc wrought by the discharge of their musketry infuriates our troops. Carnage is now rampant; the bloodshed intoxicates the soldiers to a high degree. But the prince, who

could not bear to see these lions slaughtered like so many lambs, calmed their overwrought feelings and enhanced the pleasure of victory by that of pardoning the vanquished. What, then, was the astonishment of these veteran troops and their brave officers when they perceived that their only salvation was to give themselves up to their conqueror! With what wonder did they regard the young prince, whose victory had rendered still more impressive his customary proud bearing, to which, however, his clemency had imparted a new grace. How willingly would he have saved the life of the brave Comte de Fontaines, but unhappily he lay stretched upon the field of battle among the thousands of dead bodies, those whose loss is still kept by Spain. Spain knew not that the prince who caused her the loss of so many of her old regiments on the day of Rocroi was to finish the rest on the plains of Lens. Thus the first victory was the guarantee of many others. The prince bent his knee and on the field of battle rendered to the Lord of Hosts the glory He had sent him. There was celebrated the deliverance of Rocroi, and thanksgivings were uttered that the threats of a once dreaded enemy had resulted in his own shameful defeat; that the regency was strengthened, France calmed, and a reign which was to be so illustrious begun by an augury so auspicious. The army led in thanksgiving; all France followed; the first venture of the Duc d'Enghien was lauded to the skies. Praise sufficient to render others forever illustrious; but for him it was but the first stage in his career!

As a result of this first campaign, and after the capture of Thionville, a prize worthy of the victory gained at Rocroi, he was regarded as an adversary equally to be feared in sieges and in battles. But there is one trait

in the character of the victorious young prince no less admirable than that which was brought out by victory. The court, which at his arrival was prepared to welcome him with the plaudits he deserved, was surprised at the manner in which he received them. The queen-regent assured him that the king was well pleased with his services. This from the lips of his sovereign was a fitting recompense for his labors. If others dared to praise him, however, he treated their eulogies as insults, and, impatient of flattery, he was in dread even of its semblance. Such was the delicacy, or rather the solidity of character, of this prince. Moreover his maxim was (listen; for it is a maxim which makes great men), that, in the performance of great deeds, one's sole thought should be to perform them well, and leave glory to follow in the train of virtue. It is this which he has endeavored to instil into others, and by this principle has he himself ever been guided. Thus false glory had no temptation for him. It was with truth and greatness alone that he was concerned. Thus it came about that his glory was wrapped up in the service of the king and in the happiness and wellbeing of the state; they were the objects nearest his heart; these were his first and most cherished desires. The court had but little charm for him, or occupation suited to his talents, though he was there regarded as its greatest hero. It was deemed needful to exhibit everywhere in Germany, as in Flanders, the intrepid defender whom God had given us. Remark well what is about to transpire: There is being formed against the prince an enterprise of a more formidable nature than that at Rocroi; and, in order to put his talents to the test, warfare is about to drain all its resources, and call to its aid every known invention. What is it that is pre-

sented to my vision? I see not merely men to meet in combat but inaccessible mountains: on one side are ravines and precipices; on the other impenetrable forests in the heart of which are marshes, and in proximity to streams are impregnable intrenchments; everywhere are lofty fortresses and forests of felled trees lying across roads which are frightful; and there arises Merci, with his worthy Bavarians inflated by the large measure of success which has fallen to their arms and by the capture of Fribourg; Merci, whom none has ever seen retreat from the combat; Merci, whom the Prince de Condé and the vigilant Turenne have never surprised in a movement that was not in accord with the rules of warfare, and to whom they have conceded this great mark of admiration—that never has he lost a single favorable opportunity, nor failed to anticipate their designs as though he had taken part in their councils. Here, then, in the course of eight days, and by four separate attacks, is seen how much can be supported and undertaken in war. Our troops seem as much dispirited by the frightful condition of the field of battle as by the resistance of the enemy, and for a time the prince sees himself, so to speak, abandoned. But like a second Maccabee, "his right arm abandons him not, and his courage, inflamed by so many perils, came to his aid." No sooner had he been seen on foot the first to scale those inaccessible heights, than his ardor drew the whole army after him. Merci sees himself lost beyond redemption; his best regiments are defeated; nightfall is the salvation of the remainder of his army. But a severe rainstorm serves to add to our difficulties and discouragements, so that we have at the same time to contend with not only the highest courage and the perfection of art, but the forces of nature as well. In spite of the advantage that an

enemy, as able as he is bold, takes of these conditions, and the fact that he intrenches himself anew in his impregnable mountains, hard pressed on every side, he is forced not only to allow his cannon and baggage to fall a prey to the Duc d'Enghien, but also all the country bordering the Rhine. See how everything is shaken to its foundation: Philipsburg is in dire distress in ten days, in spite of the winter now close at hand; Philipsburg, which so long held the Rhine captive under our laws, and whose loss the greatest of kings so gloriously retrieved. Worms, Spire, Mayence, Landau, twenty other places I might name, open their portals: Merci is unable to defend them, and no longer faces his conqueror. It is not enough; he must fall at his feet, a worthy victim of his valor. Nordlingen will witness his overthrow; it will there be admitted that it is no more possible to withstand the French in Germany than in Flanders. And all these benefits we will owe to this selfsame prince. God, the protector of France and of a king whom He has destined to perform His great works, thus ordains.

[The orator, continuing the story of the great deeds of the hero, leads us by gradual transition to a eulogy of the qualities of his heart. He pictures him in his family relations, and continues as follows:]

It was not merely for a son nor for his family that he had such tender sentiments: I have seen him (and do not think that I here speak in terms of exaggeration), I have seen him deeply moved by the perils of his friends. Simple and natural as he was, I have seen his features betray his emotions at the story of their misfortunes, and he was ever ready to confer with them on the most insignificant details as well as on affairs of the utmost importance. In the adjustment

of quarrels, he was ever ready to soothe turbulent spirits with a patience and good nature that one would little have expected from a disposition so excitable, nor from a character so lofty. What a contrast to heroes devoid of human sympathy! Well might the latter command respect and charm the admiration, as do all extraordinary things, but they will not win the heart. When God fashioned the heart of man and endowed him with human affection, He first of all inspired him with the quality of kindness, like unto the essence of the divine nature itself, as a token of the beneficent hand that fashioned us. Kindness, therefore, ought to be the mainspring and guide of our heart, and ought at the same time to be the chief attraction that should, as it were, be a part of our very being, with which to win the hearts of others. Greatness, which is but the result of good fortune, so far from diminishing the quality of kindness, is but given one that he might the more freely spread broadcast its beneficent effects like a public fountain, which is but erected that its waters might be scattered to the sunlight. This is the value of a good heart; and the great who are devoid of the quality of kindness, justly punished for their disdainful insensibility to the misfortunes of their fellows, are forever deprived of the greatest blessing of human life, that is to say, of the pleasures of society. Never did man enjoy these pleasures more keenly than the prince of whom I am speaking; never was man less inspired with the misgiving that familiarity breeds contempt. Is this the man who carried cities by storm and won great battles? Verily, he seems to have forgotten the high rank he so well knew how to sustain. Do you not recognize in him the hero, who, ever equable and consistent, never having to stand on tiptoe to seem taller than he is, nor to stoop to be courteous and

obliging, found himself by nature all that a man ought to be toward his fellow, like a majestic and bountiful stream, which peacefully bears into the cities the abundance it has spread in the fields that it has watered, which gives to all and never rises above its normal height, nor becomes swollen except when violent opposition is offered to the gentle slope by which it continues on its tranquil course. Such, indeed, has also been the gentleness and such the might of the Prince de Condé. Have you a secret of importance? Confide it boldly to the safekeeping of this noble heart; he will reward your confidence by making your affair his own. To this prince nothing is more inviolable than the sacred rights of friendship. When a favor is asked of him, he acts as though he himself were under obligation; and never has a joy keener and truer been witnessed than he felt at being able to give pleasure to another.

[Here the orator gave a description of the qualities of the prince's mind. He praised the warlike talents of his hero, and took occasion to compare him with Turenne, another great captain of the same period.]

It was a grand spectacle to see during the same period, and in the same campaigns, these two men, who in the common opinion of all Europe could be favorably compared to the greatest captains of past ages, sometimes at the head of different bodies of troops; sometimes united more indeed by the concord of their thoughts than by the orders which the subaltern received from his superior; sometimes at the head of opposing forces, and each redoubling his customary activity and vigilance, as though God, who, according to the Scriptures, often in His wisdom makes a sport of the

universe, had desired to show mortals the wonders in all their forms that He could work with men. Behold the encampments, the splendid marches, the audacity, the precautions, the perils, the resources of these brave men! Has there ever been beheld in two men virtues such as these in characters so different, not to say diametrically opposite? The one appears to be guided by deep reflection, the other by sudden illumination; the latter as a consequence, though more impetuous, yet never acting, with undue precipitation; the former, colder of manner, though never slow, is bolder of action than of speech, and even while having the outward appearance of embarrassment, inwardly determined and resolved. The one, from the moment he appears in the army, conveys an exalted idea of his worth and makes one expect of him something out of the ordinary; nevertheless, he advanced in regular order, and performed, as it were, by degrees, the prodigious deeds which marked the course of his career. The other, like a man inspired from the date of his first battle, showed himself the equal of the most consummate masters of the art of warfare. The one by his prompt and continued efforts commanded the admiration of the human race and silenced the voice of envy; the other shone so resplendently from the very beginning that none dared attack him. The one, in a word, by the depth of his genius and the incredible resources of his courage, rose superior to the greatest perils and even knew how to profit by every kind of fickleness of fortune; the other, by reason of the advantages derived from high birth, by his great conceptions derived from Heaven, and by a kind of admirable instinct, the secret of which is not given to ordinary men, seemed born to mold fortune to conform to his designs and bring des-

tiny to his feet. And that the great though diverse characters of these two men might be clearly discerned, it should be borne in mind that the one, his career cut short by an unexpected blow, died for his country like another Judas Maccabeus, mourned by the army as for a father, while the court and all the people lamented his fate. His piety as well as his courage were universally lauded, and his memory will never fade from the minds of men. The other, raised to the very summit of glory by force of arms like another David, dies like him in his bed sounding the praises of God and leaving his dying behests to his family, while all hearts were impressed as much by the splendor of his life as by the gentleness of his death.

BUNYAN

JOHN BUNYAN, famous allegorist and preacher, who has been called the "Prose Dante of England," was born in the small village of Elstow, near Bedford, in November, 1628. He learned the tinker's trade and while a lad entered the army, but whether that of the Royalists or the Roundheads had been disputed. He was married at twenty, and, after enduring severe spiritual conflicts, joined the Nonconformists in 1653. After his removal to Bedford in 1655 he began to exhort in public, and in 1657 was formally recognized as a preacher, though he still continued to work at his trade. So powerful was the effect of his eloquence upon the people who flocked to hear him that the authorities, fearing his influence, confined him in Bedford jail soon after the Restoration, and there he remained from 1660 to 1672. On his release he resumed his preaching, which again resulted in Bunyan's imprisonment for six months in 1675, during which time his "Pilgrim's Progress" is thought to have been written. The first part of this celebrated work was issued in 1678, and the second in 1684. This book holds its place to-day not only as a religious classic but as the greatest of allegories, and its picturesque, vigorous English has made it a favorite with readers of all ranks. "The Holy War," which Bunyan printed in 1684, is a second allegory not greatly inferior to its predecessor. Among his other writings are: "Sighs from Hell;" "Grace Abounding in the Chief of Sinners" (1666), a kind of spiritual autobiography; "The Holy City" (1665); "Life and Death of Mr. Badman" (1680); and "The Barren Fig Tree" (1683). After his second imprisonment Bunyan continued to make preaching tours from Bedford, and while on one of these he died in London, August 31, 1688.

SERMON: THE HEAVENLY FOOTMAN

"So run that ye may obtain."—1 Cor. ix, 24.

HEAVEN and happiness is that which every one desireth, insomuch that wicked Balaam could say, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Yet, for all this, there are but very few that do obtain that ever-to-be-desired glory, insomuch that many eminent professors drop short of a welcome from God into this pleasant place. The Apostle, therefore, because he did desire the salvation of the souls of the Corinthians, to whom he

writes this epistle, layeth them down in these words such counsel which, if taken, would be for their help and advantage.

First. Not to be wicked, and sit still, and wish for heaven; but to run for it.

Secondly. Not to content themselves with every kind of running, but, saith he, "So run that ye may obtain." As if he should say, some, because they would not lose their souls, they begin to run betimes, they run apace, they run with patience, they run the right way. Do you so run. Some run from both father and mother, friends and companions, and thus, that they may have the crown. Do you so run. Some run through temptations, afflictions, good report, evil report, that they may win the pearl. Do you so run. "So run that ye may obtain."

These words they are taken from men's running for a wager: a very apt similitude to set before the eyes of the saints of the Lord. "Know you not that they which run in a race run all, but one obtains the prize? So run that ye may obtain." That is, do not only run, but be sure you win as well as run. "So run that ye may obtain."

I shall not need to make any great ado in opening the words at this time, but shall rather lay down one doctrine that I do find in them; and in prosecuting that I shall show you, in some measure the scope of the words.

The doctrine is this: They that will have heaven must run for it; I say, they that will have heaven, they must run for it. I beseech you to heed it well. "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one obtaineth the prize? So run ye." The prize is heaven, and if you will have it you must run for it. You have another scripture for this in the 12th of the Hebrews, the 1st, 2d, and 3d verses: "Wherefore seeing also," saith the Apostle, "that we are

compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us." And let us run, saith he.

Again, saith Paul, "I so run, not as uncertainly: so fight I," etc.

But before I go any farther:

1. Fleeing. Observe, That this running is not an ordinary, or any sort of running, but it is to be understood of the swiftest sort of running; and therefore, in the 6th of the Hebrews, it is called a fleeing: "That we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge, to lay hold on the hope set before us." Mark who have fled. It is taken from that 20th of Joshua, concerning the man that was to flee to the city of refuge when the avenger of blood was hard at his heels to take vengeance on him for the offence he had committed; therefore it is a running or fleeing for one's life: a running with all might and main, as we use to say. So run.

2. Pressing. Secondly, This running in another place is called a pressing. "I press toward the mark;" which signifieth that they that will have heaven, they must not stick at any difficulties they meet with; but press, crowd, and thrust through all that may stand between heaven and their souls. So run.

3. Continuing. Thirdly, This running is called in another place a continuing in the way of life. "If you continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel of Christ." Not to run a little now and then, by fits and starts, or half-way, or almost thither, but to run for my life, to run through all difficulties, and to continue therein to the end of the race, which must be to

the end of my life. "So run that ye may obtain." And the reasons for this point are these:

1. Because all or every one that runneth doth not obtain the prize; there be many that do run, yea, and run far too, who yet miss of the crown that standeth at the end of the race. You know that all that run in a race do not obtain the victory; they all run, but one wins. And so it is here; it is not every one that runneth, nor every one that seeketh, nor every one that striveth for the mastery, that hath it. "Though a man do strive for the mastery," saith Paul, "yet he is not crowned, unless he strive lawfully;" that is, unless he so run and so strive as to have God's approbation. What, do ye think that every heavy-heeled professor will have heaven? What, every lazy one? every wanton and foolish professor, that will be stopped by anything, kept back by anything, that scarce runneth so fast heavenward as a snail creepeth on the ground? Nay, there are some professors that do not go on so fast in the way of God as a snail doth go on the wall; and yet these think that heaven and happiness is for them. But stay, there are many more that run than there be that obtain; therefore he that will have heaven must run for it.

2. Because you know that though a man do run, yet if he do not overcome, or win, as well as run, what will they be the better for their running? They will get nothing. You know the man that runneth, he doth do it that he may win the prize; but if he doth not obtain it, he doth lose his labor, spend his pains and time, and that to no purpose; I say, he getteth nothing. And ah! how many such runners will there be found in the day of judgment? Even multitudes, multitudes that have run, yea, run so far as to come to heaven-gates, and not able to get any farther, but there

stand knocking, when it is too late, crying, Lord, Lord, when they have nothing but rebukes for their pains. Depart from me, you come not here, you come too late, you run too lazily; the door is shut. "When once the master of the house is risen up," saith Christ, "and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us, I will say, I know you not, Depart," etc. O sad will the state of those be that run and miss; therefore if you will have heaven you must run for it; and "so run that ye may obtain."

3. Because the way is long (I speak metaphorically), and there is many a dirty step, many a high hill, much work to do, a wicked heart, world, and devil to overcome; I say, there are many steps to be taken by those that intend to be saved, by running or walking in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham. Out of Egypt thou must go through the Red Sea; thou must run a long and tedious journey, through the vast howling wilderness, before thou come to the land of promise.

4. They that will go to heaven, they must run for it; because, as the way is long, so the time in which they are to get to the end of it is very uncertain; the time present is the only time; thou hast no more time allotted thee than that thou now enjoyest: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Do not say, I have time enough to get to heaven seven years hence: for I tell thee the bell may toll for thee before seven days more be ended; and when death comes, away thou must go, whether thou art provided or not; and therefore look to it; make no delays; it is not good dallying with things of so great concernment as the salvation or damnation of thy soul. You know he that hath a great way to go in a little

time, and less by half than he thinks of, he had need to run for it.

5. They that will have heaven, they must run for it; because the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell follow them. There is never a poor soul that is going to heaven, but the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell make after that soul. "The devil, your adversary, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour." And I will assure you the devil is nimble, he can run apace, he is light of foot, he hath overtaken many, he hath turned up their heels, and hath given them an everlasting fall. Also the law, that can shoot a great way, have a care thou keep out of the reach of those great guns, the ten commandments. Hell also hath a wide mouth; it can stretch itself farther than you are aware of. And as the angel said to Lot, "Take heed, look not behind thee, neither tarry thou in all the plain" (that is, anywhere between this and heaven), "lest thou be consumed;" so say I to thee, Take heed, tarry not, lest either the devil, hell, death, or the fearful curses of the law of God do overtake thee, and throw thee down in the midst of thy sins, so as never to rise and recover again. If this were well considered, then thou, as well as I, wouldst say, They that will have heaven must run for it.

6. They that will go to heaven must run for it; because perchance the gates of heaven may be shut shortly. Sometimes sinners have not heaven-gates open to them so long as they suppose; and if they be once shut against a man they are so heavy that all the men in the world, nor all the angels in heaven, are not able to open them. "I shut, and no man can open," saith Christ. And how if thou shouldst come but one quarter of an hour too late? I tell thee it will cost thee an eternity to bewail thy misery in. Francis

Spira can tell thee what it is to stay till the gate of mercy be quite shut, or to run so lazily that they be shut before thou get within them. What, to be shut out! what, out of heaven! Sinner, rather than lose it run for it; yea, and "so run that thou mayst obtain."

7. Lastly, because if thou lose thou losest all, thou losest soul, God, Christ, heaven, ease, peace, etc. Besides, thou layest thyself open to all the shame, contempt, and reproach, that either God, Christ, saints, the world, sin, the devil, and all can lay upon thee. As Christ saith of the foolish builder, so will I say of thee, if thou be such a one who runs and misses; I say, even all that go by will begin to mock at thee, saying, This man began to run well, but was not able to finish. But more of this anon.

Q. But how should a poor soul do to run? For this very thing is that which afflicteth me sore (as you say), to think that I may run and yet fall short. Methinks to fall short at last, Oh, it fears me greatly! Pray tell me, therefore, how I should run.

Ans. That thou mayst indeed be satisfied in this particular consider these following things:

The first direction. If thou wouldst so run as to obtain the kingdom of heaven, then be sure that thou get into the way that leadeth thither, for it is a vain thing to think that ever thou shalt have the prize, though thou runnest never so fast, unless thou art in the way that leads to it. Set the case that there should be a man in London that was to run to York for a wager; now, though he run never so swiftly, yet, if he run full south, he might run himself quickly out of breath and be never the nearer the prize, but rather the farther off. Just so is it here; it is not simply the runner, nor yet the hasty runner, that winneth

the crown, unless he be in the way that leadeth thereto. I have observed, that little time which I have been a professor, that there is a great running to and fro, some this way, and some that way, yet it is to be feared most of them are out of the way, and then, though they run as swift as the eagle can fly, they are benefited nothing at all.

Here is one runs a-quaking, another a-ranting; one again runs after the baptism, and another after the Independency: here is one for Free-will, and another for Presbytery; and yet possibly most of all these sects run quite the wrong way, and yet every one is for his life, his soul, either for heaven or hell.

If thou now say, Which is the way? I tell thee it is Christ, the Son of Mary, the Son of God. Jesus saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me." So then thy business is (if thou wouldst have salvation) to see if Christ be thine, with all his benefits; whether he hath covered thee with his righteousness; whether he hath showed thee that thy sins are washed away with his heart-blood; whether thou art planted into him, and whether thou have faith in him, so as to make a life out of him and to conform thee to him; that is, such faith as to conclude that thou art righteous because Christ is thy righteousness, and so constrained to walk with him as the joy of thy heart because he saveth thy soul. And for the Lord's sake take heed, and do not deceive thyself, and think thou art in the way upon too slight grounds; for if thou miss of the way thou wilt miss of the prize, and if thou miss of that I am sure thou wilt lose thy soul, even that soul which is worth more than the whole world.

But I have treated more largely on this in my book of the two covenants, and therefore shall pass it now; only I beseech

thee to have a care of thy soul, and that thou mayst so do, take this counsel:

Mistrust thy own strength, and throw it away; down on thy knees in prayer to the Lord for the spirit of truth; search his word for direction; flee seducers' company; keep company with the soundest Christians, that have most experience of Christ; and be sure thou have a care of Quakers, Ranters, Free-willers. Also do not have too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself. I tell thee this is such a serious matter, and I fear thou wilt so little regard it, that the thought of the worth of the thing and of thy too light regarding of it doth even make my heart ache whilst I am writing to thee. The Lord teach thee the way by his Spirit, and then I am sure thou wilt know it. So run.

Only by the way, let me bid thee have a care of two things, and so I shall pass to the next thing.

1. Have a care of relying on the outward obedience to any of God's commands, or thinking thyself ever the better in the sight of God for that.

2. Take heed of fetching peace for thy soul from any inherent righteousness: But if thou canst believe that, as thou art a sinner, so thou art justified freely by the love of God through the redemption that is in Christ; and that God for Christ's sake hath forgiven thee, not because he saw anything done, or to be done, in or by thee, to move him thereunto to do it; for that is the right way; the Lord put thee into it, and keep thee in it.

The second direction. As thou shouldst get into the way, so thou shouldst also be much in studying and musing on the way. You know men that would be expert in anything, they are usually much in studying of that thing, and so likewise is it with those that quickly grow expert in any way.

This therefore thou shouldst do: let thy study be much exercised about Christ, which is the way, what he is, what he hath done, and why he is what he is, and why he hath done what is done; as, why "he took upon him the form of a servant;" why he was "made in the likeness of man;" why he cried; why he died; why he "bare the sin of the world;" why he was made sin, and why he was made righteousness; why he is in heaven in the nature of man, and what he doth there. Be much in musing and considering of these things; be thinking also enough of those places which thou must not come near, but leave some on this hand and some on that hand; as it is with those that travel into other countries, they must leave such a gate on this hand, and such a bush on that hand, and go by such a place, where standeth such a thing. Thus therefore you must do: "Avoid such things which are expressly forbidden in the word of God." Withdraw thy foot far from her, "and come not nigh the door of her house, for her steps take hold of hell, going down to the chambers of death." And so of everything that is not in the way, have a care of it, that thou go not by it; come not near it, have nothing to do with it. So run.

The third direction. Not only thus, but in the next place, thou must strip thyself of those things that may hang upon thee, to the hindering of thee in the way to the kingdom of heaven, as covetousness, pride, lust, or whatever else thy heart may be inclining unto, which may hinder thee in this heavenly race. Men that run for a wager, if they intend to win as well as run, they do not use to encumber themselves, or carry those things about them that may be an hindrance to them in their running. "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things," that is, he layeth aside everything that would be anywise a disadvantage to him; as

saith the Apostle, "Let us lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us." It is but a vain thing to talk of going to heaven if thou let thy heart be encumbered with those things that would hinder. Would you not say that such a man would be in danger of losing, though he run, if he fill his pockets with stones, hang heavy garments on his shoulders, and great lumpish shoes on his feet? So it is here: thou talkest of going to heaven, and yet fillest thy pocket with stones, that is, fillest thy heart with this world, lettest that hang on thy shoulders, with its profits and pleasures: Alas, alas, thou art widely mistaken. If thou intendest to win, thou must strip, thou must lay aside every weight, thou must be temperate in all things. Thou must so run.

The fourth direction. Beware of by-paths; take heed thou dost not turn into those lanes which lead out of the way. There are crooked paths, paths in which men go astray, paths that lead to death and damnation, but take heed of all those. Some of them are dangerous because of practice, some because of opinion, but mind them not; mind the path before thee, look right before thee, turn neither to the right hand nor to the left, but let thine eyes look right on, even right before thee; "Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established." Turn not to the right hand nor to the left. "Remove thy foot far from evil." This counsel being not so seriously taken as given is the reason of that starting from opinion to opinion, reeling this way and that way, out of this lane into that lane, and so missing the way to the kingdom. Though the way to heaven be but one, yet there are many crooked lanes and by-paths shoot down upon it, as I may say. And again, notwithstanding the kingdom of heaven be the biggest city, yet usually those by-paths are most beaten, most

travellers go those ways; and therefore the way to heaven is hard to be found, and as hard to be kept in, by reason of these. Yet, nevertheless, it is in this case as it was with the harlot of Jericho; she had one scarlet thread tied in her window, by which her house was known. So it is here, the scarlet streams of Christ's blood run throughout the way to the kingdom of heaven; therefore mind that, see if thou do find the besprinkling of the blood of Christ in the way, and if thou do, be of good cheer, thou art in the right way; but have a care thou beguile not thyself with a fancy; for then thou mayst light into any lane or way; but that thou mayst not be mistaken, consider, though it seem never so pleasant, yet if thou do not find that in the very middle of the road there is written with the heart-blood of Christ that he came into the world to save sinners, and that we are justified though we are ungodly, shun that way; for this it is which the Apostle meaneth when he saith, "We have boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the vail, that is to say, his flesh." How easy a matter is it in this our day for the devil to be too cunning for poor souls, by calling his by-paths the way to the kingdom! If such an opinion or fancy be but cried up by one or more, this inscription being set upon it by the devil [This is the way of God], how speedily, greedily, and by heaps, do poor simple souls throw away themselves upon it; especially if it be daubed over with a few external acts of morality, if so good! But this is because men do not know painted by-paths from the plain way to the kingdom of heaven. They have not yet learned the true Christ and what his righteousness is, neither have they a sense of their own insufficiency; but are bold, proud, presumptuous, self-conceited. And therefore —

The fifth direction. Do not thou be too much in looking too high in thy journey heavenwards. You know men that run a race do not use to stare and gaze this way and that, neither do they use to cast up their eyes too high, lest haply, through their too much gazing with their eyes after other things, they in the meantime stumble and catch a fall. The very same case is this; if thou gaze and stare after every opinion and way that comes into the world, also if thou be prying overmuch into God's secret decrees or let thy heart too much entertain questions about some nice foolish curiosities, thou mayst stumble and fall, as many hundreds in England have done, both in ranting and quakery, to their own eternal overthrow, without the marvellous operation of God's grace be suddenly stretched forth to bring them back again. Take heed, therefore; follow not that proud, lofty spirit that, devil-like, cannot be content with his own station. David was of an excellent spirit, where he saith, "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I exercise myself in great matters or things too high for me. Surely I have behaved and quieted myself as a child that is weaned of his mother: My soul is even as a weaned child." Do thou so run.

The sixth direction. Take heed that you have not an ear open to every one that calleth after you as you are in your journey. Men that run, you know, if any do call after them, saying, I would speak with you, or go not too fast, and you shall have my company with you, if they run for some great matter they use to say, Alas, I cannot stay, I am in haste, pray talk not to me now; neither can I stay for you, I am running for a wager: If I win I am made, if I lose I am undone, and therefore hinder me not. Thuswise are men when they run for corruptible things, and thus shouldst thou

do, and thou hast more cause to do so than they, forasmuch as they run for things that last not, but thou for an incorruptible glory. I give thee notice of this betimes, knowing that thou shalt have enough call after thee, even the devil, sin, this world, vain company, pleasures, profits, esteem among men, ease, pomp, pride, together with an innumerable company of such companions; one crying, Stay for me; the other saying, Do not leave me behind; a third saying, And take me along with you. What, will you go, saith the devil, without your sins, pleasures, and profits? Are you so hasty? Can you not stay and take these along with you? Will you leave your friends and companions behind you? Can you not do as your neighbors do, carry the world, sin, lust, pleasure, profit, esteem among men, along with you? Have a care thou do not let thine ear now be open to the tempting, enticing, alluring, and soul-entangling flatteries of such sink-souls as these are. "My son," saith Solomon, "if sinners entice thee, consent thou not."

In the next place, be not daunted though thou meetest with never so many discouragements in thy journey thither. That man that is resolved for heaven, if Satan cannot win him by flatteries, he will endeavor to weaken him by discouragements, saying: "Thou art a sinner; thou hast broken God's law; thou art not elected; thou comest too late; the day of grace is past; God doth not care for thee; thy heart is naught; thou art lazy," with a hundred other discouraging suggestions. And thus it was with David, where he saith: "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the loving kindness of the Lord in the land of the living." As if he should say, the devil did so rage, and my heart was so base, that had I judged according to my own sense and feeling I had been absolutely distracted; but I trusted in

Christ, in the promise, and looked that God would be as good as his promise, in having mercy upon me, an unworthy sinner; and this is that which encouraged me and kept me from fainting. And thus must thou do when Satan, or the law, or thy own conscience, do go about to dishearten thee, either by the greatness of thy sins, the wickedness of thy heart, the tediousness of the way, the loss of outward enjoyments, the hatred that thou wilt procure from the world, or the like; then thou must encourage thyself with the freeness of the promises, the tender-heartedness of Christ, the merits of his blood, the freeness of his invitations to come in, the greatness of the sin of others that have been pardoned, and that the same God, through the same Christ, holdeth forth the same grace as free as ever. If these be not thy meditations, thou wilt draw very heavily in the way to heaven, if thou do not give up all for lost, and so knock off from following any further; therefore, I say, take heart in thy journey, and say to them that seek thy destruction: "Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, for when I fall I shall arise, when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me." So run.

Take heed of being offended at the cross that thou must go by before thou come to heaven. You must understand (as I have already touched) that there is no man that goeth to heaven but he must go by the cross. The cross is the standing way-mark by which all they that go to glory must pass.

"We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of heaven." "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." If thou art in thy way to the kingdom, my life for thine thou wilt come at the cross shortly (the Lord grant thou dost not shrink from it, so as to turn thee back again). "If any man will come

after me," saith Christ, "let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." The cross it stands, and hath stood, from the beginning, as a way-mark to the kingdom of heaven. You know, if one ask you the way to such and such a place, you, for the better direction, do not only say, "This is the way," but then also say, "You must go by such a gate, by such a stile, such a bush, tree, bridge," or such like; why so it is here; art thou inquiring the way to heaven? Why, I tell thee, Christ is the way; into him thou must get — into his righteousness — to be justified; and if thou art in him thou wilt presently see the cross; thou must go close by it, thou must touch it,— nay, thou must take it up or else thou wilt quickly go out of the way that leads to heaven, and turn up some of those crooked lanes that lead down to the chambers of death.

Now thou mayest know the cross by these six things:

1. It is known in the doctrine of justification.
2. In the doctrine of mortification.
3. In the doctrine of perseverance.
4. In self-denial.
5. Patience.
6. Communion with poor saints.

1. In the doctrine of justification, there is a great deal of the cross in that; a man is forced to suffer the destruction of his own righteousness for the righteousness of another. This is no easy matter for a man to do; I assure to you it stretcheth every vein in his heart before he will be brought to yield to it. What, for a man to deny, reject, abhor, and throw away all his prayers, tears, alms, keeping of sabbaths, hearing, reading, with the rest, in the point of justification, and to count them accursed; and to be willing, in the very

midst of the sense of his sins, to throw himself wholly upon the righteousness and obedience of another man, abhorring his own, counting it as deadly sin, as the open breach of the law: I say, to do this in deed and in truth is the biggest piece of the cross; and therefore Paul calleth this very thing a suffering; where he saith, "And I have suffered the loss of all things (which principally was his righteousness) that I might win Christ, and be found in him, not having (but rejecting) my own righteousness. That is the first.

2. In the doctrine of mortification is also much of the cross. Is it nothing for a man to lay hands on his vile opinions, on his vile sins, of his bosom sins, of his beloved, pleasant, darling sins, that stick as close to him as the flesh sticks to the bones? What, to lose all these brave things that my eyes behold, for that which I never saw with my eyes? What, to lose my pride, my covetousness, my vain company, sports and pleasures, and the rest? I tell you this is no easy matter: if it were, what need all those prayers, sighs, watchings? What need we be so backward to it? Nay, do you not see that some men, before they will set about this work, they will even venture the loss of their souls, heaven, God, Christ, and all? What means else all those delays and put-offs, saying, Stay a little longer, I am loth to leave my sins while I am so young and in health? Again, what is the reason else that others do it so by the halves, coldly and seldom, notwithstanding they are convinced over and over; nay, and also promise to amend, and yet all's in vain? I will assure you, to cut off right hands, and to pluck out right eyes, is no pleasure to the flesh.

3. The doctrine of perseverance is also cross to the flesh; which is not only to begin but to hold out, not only to bid fair and to say, Would I had heaven, but so to know Christ,

put on Christ, and walk with Christ so as to come to heaven. Indeed it is no great matter to begin to look for heaven, to begin to seek the Lord, to begin to shun sin; oh but it is a very great matter to continue with God's approbation: "My servant Caleb," saith God, "is a man of another spirit, he hath followed me (followed me always, he hath continually followed me) fully, he shall possess the land." Almost all the many thousands of the children of Israel in their generation fell short of perseverance when they walked from Egypt toward the land of Canaan. Indeed they went to work at first pretty willingly, but they were very short-winded, they were quickly out of breath, and in their hearts they turned back again into Egypt.

It is an easy matter for a man to run hard for a spurt, for a furlong, for a mile or two. Oh, but to hold out for a hundred, for a thousand, for ten thousand miles, that man that doth this, he must look to meet with cross, pain, and wearisomeness to the flesh, especially if as he goeth he meeteth with briars and quagmires, and other encumbrances that make his journey so much the more painful.

Nay, do you not see with your eyes daily that perseverance is a very great part of the cross? why else do men so soon grow weary? I could point out a many that after they have followed the ways of God about a twelvemonth, others it may be two, three, or four (some more, and some less) years, they have been beat out of wind, have taken up their lodging and rest before they have got half-way to heaven, some in this, some in that sin; and have secretly, nay, sometimes openly said, that the way is too straight, the race too long, the religion too holy, and cannot hold out, I can go no farther.

And so likewise of the other three (to wit), patience, self-

denial, communion, and communication with and to the poor saints: How hard are these things? It is an easy matter to deny another man, but it is not so easy a matter to deny one's self; to deny myself out of love to God, to his gospel, to his saints, of this advantage, and of that gain; nay, of that which otherwise I might lawfully do were it not for offending them. That scripture is but seldom read and seldomer put in practice, which saith, "I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, if it make my brother to offend;" again, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." But how froward, how hasty, how peevish, and self-resolved are the generality of professors at this day! Also how little considering the poor, unless it be to say, Be thou warmed and filled! But to give is a seldom work; also especially to give to any poor; I tell you all things are cross to flesh and blood; and that man that hath but a watchful eye over the flesh, and also some considerable measure of strength against it, he shall find his heart in these things like unto a starting horse, that is rode without a curbing bridle, ready to start at everything that is offensive to him; yea, and ready to run away, too, do what the rider can.

It is the cross which keepeth those that are kept from heaven. I am persuaded, were it not for the cross, where we have one professor we should have twenty; but this cross, that is it which spoileth all.

Some men, as I said before, when they come at the cross they can go no farther, but back again to their sins they must go. Others they stumble at it and break their necks; others again, when they see the cross is approaching, they turn aside to the left hand or to the right hand, and so think to get to heaven another way; but they will be deceived.

"For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall," mark, "shall be sure to suffer persecution." There are but few when they come at the cross cry, Welcome cross! as some of the martyrs did to the stake they were burned at. Therefore, if you meet with the cross in thy journey, in what manner soever it be, be not daunted, and say, Alas, what shall I do now! But rather take courage, knowing that by the cross is the way to the kingdom. Can a man believe in Christ, and not be hated by the devil? Can he make a profession of this Christ, and that sweetly and convincingly, and the children of Satan hold their tongue? Can darkness agree with light? or the devil endure that Christ Jesus should be honored both by faith and a heavenly conversation, and let that soul alone at quiet? Did you never read that "the dragon persecuted the woman?" And that Christ saith, "In the world you shall have tribulations?"

The ninth direction. Beg of God that he would do these two things for thee: First, Enlighten thine understanding: And, secondly, Inflame thy will. If these two be but effectually done, there is no fear but thou wilt go safe to heaven.

One of the great reasons why men and women do so little regard the other world, it is because they see so little of it: And the reason why they see so little of it is because they have their understanding darkened: And therefore, saith Paul, "Do not you believers walk as do other Gentiles, even in the vanity of their minds, having their understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance (or foolishness) that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." Walk not as those, run not with them: alas, poor souls, they have their understandings darkened, their hearts blinded, and that is the reason they have such undervaluing thoughts of the Lord Jesus Christ and the

salvation of their souls. For when men do come to see the things of another world, what a God, what a Christ, what a heaven, and what an eternal glory there is to be enjoyed; also when they see that it is possible for them to have a share in it, I tell you it will make them run through thick and thin to enjoy it. Moses, having a sight of this, because his understanding was enlightened, "He feared not the wrath of the king, but chose rather to suffer afflictions with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. He refused to be called the son of the king's daughter;" accounting it wonderful riches to be accounted worthy of so much as to suffer for Christ, with the poor despised saints; and that was because he saw him who was invisible, and had respect unto the recompense of reward. And this is that which the Apostle usually prayeth for in his epistles for the saints, namely, "That they might know what is the hope of God's calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints; and that they might be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." Pray therefore that God would enlighten thy understanding; that will be a very great help unto thee. It will make thee endure many a hard brunt for Christ; as Paul saith, "After you were illuminated, ye endured a great sight of afflictions. You took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance." If there be never such a rare jewel lie just in a man's way, yet if he sees it not he will rather trample upon it than stoop for it, and it is because he sees it not. Why, so it is here, though heaven be worth never so much, and thou hast never so much need of it, yet if thou see it not, that is, have not thy understanding opened or enlight-

ened to see, thou wilt not regard at all: therefore cry to the Lord for enlightening grace and say, "Lord, open my blind eyes; Lord, take the veil off my dark heart," show me the things of the other world, and let me see the sweetness, glory, and excellency of them for Christ's sake. This is the first.

The tenth direction. Cry to God that he would inflame thy will also with the things of the other world. For when a man's will is fully set to do such or such a thing, then it must be a very hard matter that shall hinder that man from bringing about his end. When Paul's will was set resolvedly to go up to Jerusalem (though it was signified to him before what he should there suffer), he was not daunted at all; nay, saith he, "I am ready (or willing) not only to be bound, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." His will was inflamed with love to Christ; and therefore all the persuasions that could be used wrought nothing at all.

Your self-willed people nobody knows what to do with them: we use to say, He will have his own will, do all what you can. Indeed to have such a will for heaven is an admirable advantage to a man that undertaketh a race thither; a man that is resolved, and hath his will fixed, saith he, I will do my best to advantage myself; I will do my worst to hinder my enemies; I will not give out as long as I can stand; I will have it or I will lose my life; "though he slay me yet will I trust in him. I will not let thee go except thou bless me." I will, I will, I will, oh, this blessed inflamed will for heaven! What is it like? If a man be willing, then any argument shall be matter of encouragement; but if unwilling, then any argument shall give discouragement; this is seen both in saints and sinners; in them that are the children of God, and also those that are the children of the devil. As,

1. The saints of old, they being willing and resolved for

heaven, what could stop them? Could fire and faggot, sword or halter, stinking dungeons, whips, bears, bulls, lions, cruel rackings, stoning, starving, nakedness, etc., "and in all these things they were more than conquerors, through him that loved them;" who had also made them "willing in the day of his power."

2. See again, on the other side, the children of the devil, because they are not willing, how many shifts and starting-holes they will have. I have married a wife, I have a farm, I shall offend my landlord, I shall offend my master, I shall lose my trading, I shall lose my pride, my pleasures, I shall be mocked and scoffed, therefore I dare not come. I, saith another, will stay till I am older, till my children are out, till I am got a little aforehand in the world, till I have done this and that, and the other business: but alas, the thing is, they are not willing; for, were they but soundly willing, these, and a thousand such as these, would hold them no faster than the cords held Samson when he broke them like burnt flax. I tell you the will is all: that is one of the chief things which turns the wheel either backwards or forwards; and God knoweth that full well, and so likewise doth the devil; and therefore they both endeavor very much to strengthen the will of their servants; God, he is for making of his a willing people to serve him; and the devil, he doth what he can to possess the will and affection of those that are his with love to sin; and therefore when Christ comes close to the matter, indeed, saith he, "You will not come to me. How often would I have gathered you as a hen doth her chickens, but you would not." The devil had possessed their wills, and so long he was sure enough of them. Oh, therefore, cry hard to God to inflame thy will for heaven and Christ: thy will, I say, if that be rightly set for heaven,

thou wilt not be beat off with discouragements; and this was the reason that when Jacob wrestled with the angel, though he lost a limb, as it were, and the hollow of his thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him, yet, saith he, "I will not," mark, "I will not let thee go except thou bless me." Get thy will tipped with the heavenly grace and resolution against all discouragements, and then thou goest full speed for heaven; but if thou falter in thy will, and be not found there, thou wilt run hobbling and halting all the way thou runnest, and also to be sure thou wilt fall short at last. The Lord give thee a will and courage.

Thus have I done with directing thee how to run to the kingdom; be sure thou keep in memory what I have said unto thee, lest thou lose thy way. But because I would have thee think of them, take all in short in this little bit of paper.

1. Get into the way. 2. Then study on it. 3. Then strip, and lay aside everything that would hinder. 4. Beware of by-paths. 5. Do not gaze and stare too much about thee, but be sure to ponder the path of thy feet. 6. Do not stop for any that call after thee, whether it be the world, the flesh, or the devil: for all these will hinder thy journey, if possible. 7. Be not daunted with any discouragements thou meetest with as thou goest. 8. Take heed of stumbling at the cross. 9. Cry hard to God for an enlightened heart, and a willing mind, and God give thee a prosperous journey.

Provocation. Now that you may be provoked to run with the foremost, take notice of this. When Lot and his wife were running from cursed Sodom to the mountains, to save their lives, it is said that his wife looked back from behind him and she became a pillar of salt; and yet you see that neither her practice, nor the judgment of God that fell upon

her for the same, would cause Lot to look behind him. I have sometimes wondered at Lot in this particular; his wife looked behind her, and died immediately, but, let what would become of her, Lot would not so much as look behind him to see her. We do not read that he did so much as once look where she was, or what was become of her; his heart was indeed upon his journey, and well it might: there was the mountain before him, and the fire and brimstone behind him; his life lay at stake, and he had lost it if he had but looked behind him. Do thou so run: and in thy race remember Lot's wife, and remember her doom; and remember for what that doom did overtake her; and remember that God made her an example for all lazy runners, to the end of the world; and take heed thou fall not after the same example. But,

If this will not provoke thee, consider thus: 1. Thy soul is thy own soul, that is either to be saved or lost; thou shalt not lose my soul by thy laziness. It is thy own soul, thy own ease, thy own peace, thy own advantage or disadvantage. If it were my own that thou art desired to be good unto, methinks reason should move thee somewhat to pity it. But alas, it is thy own, thy own soul. "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" God's people wish well to the souls of others, and wilt not thou wish well to thy own? And if this will not provoke thee, then think,

Again, 2. If thou lose thy soul, it is thou also that must bear the blame. It made Cain stark mad to consider that he had not looked to his brother Abel's soul. How much more will it perplex thee to think that thou hadst not a care of thy own? And if this will not provoke thee to bestir thyself, think again,

3. That if thou wilt not run, the people of God are

resolved to deal with thee even as Lot dealt with his wife, that is, leave thee behind them. It may be thou hast a father, mother, brother, etc., going post-haste to heaven, wouldst thou be willing to be left behind them? Surely no.

Again, 4. Will it not be a dishonor to thee to see the very boys and girls in the country to have more wit than thyself? It may be the servants of some men, as the horse-keeper, plowman, scullion, etc., are more looking after heaven than their masters. I am apt to think, sometimes, that more servants than masters, that more tenants than landlords, will inherit the kingdom of heaven. But is not this a shame for them that are such? I am persuaded you scorn, that your servants should say that they are wiser than you in the things of this world; and yet I am bold to say that many of them are wiser than you in the things of the world to come, which are of greater concernment.

Expostulation. Well, then, sinner, what sayest thou? Where is thy heart? Wilt thou run? Art thou resolved to strip? Or art thou not? Think quickly, man, it is not dallying in this matter. Confer not with flesh and blood; look up to heaven, and see how thou likest it; also to hell (of which thou mayst understand something in my book, called, "A Few Sighs from Hell; or, The Groans of a Damned Soul," which I wish thee to read seriously over), and accordingly devote thyself. If thou dost not know the way, inquire at the Word of God; if thou wantest company, cry for God's Spirit; if thou wantest encouragement, entertain the promises. But be sure thou begin betimes; get into the way, run apace, and hold out to the end; and the Lord give thee a prosperous journey. Farewell.

FLAVEL

JOHN FLAVEL, an English Puritan divine, was born about 1630 at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire. He was educated at Oxford University and was ordained at Deptford in Devonshire. From 1656 to 1682 he was rector at Dartmouth, but on the passing of the Act of Uniformity he was ejected from his parish. He returned at a later period and met such of his former congregation as were faithful to him in his own house, where he held nightly services until, in 1687, on the relaxation of the penal laws, a Nonconformist chapel was erected for him. Flavel died at Exeter, June 26, 1696. He was extremely popular as a religious writer in his day, and is still read to some extent. His theology was severely evangelical in cast, and his writings, which are very voluminous, display a vigorous style and are enlivened with not a little play of fancy. His writings, which have been highly commended by many later divines, include "Husbandry Spiritualized," "Navigation Spiritualized," "The Fountain of Life Opened," "A Saint Indeed," "A Token for Mourners," "The Seaman's Companion," "Divine Conduct," and many other works.

FROM A CORONATION SERMON

"Go forth ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart."— Cant. iii, 11.

A CROWN is the top of earthly glory, the culminating point of human dignity (Ps. xxi, 2, 3): "Thou hast given him his heart's desire; thou hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head." The ambition of the many moves in various spheres below it; the ambition of none aspires above it, except it be that anomalous monster, the man of sin, who affects to sit in the very throne of God and exalts himself above all that is called God (2 Thess. ii, 4).

When God puts a crown upon the head, and a sceptre into the hand of a man, he engraves upon that man (in a qualified

sense) both his name and the lively character of his majesty and authority (Ps. lxxxii, 6): "I have said, ye are gods, and all of you the children of the Most High." But yet, in all the grants and conveyances of Heaven, there is always a reservation and salvo to the divine prerogative, to displace at pleasure, and set it upon what head he shall please (Ezek. xxi, 26): "Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take off the crown; This shall not be the same: Exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high."

Though dominion be not founded in grace, yet grace both embellishes and secures the dominion of men. The princes of the earth owe fealty and homage to Jesus Christ (Ps. ii, 10–12), and had some of them been more subject to his laws, their kingdoms had flourished and their government been more auspicious.

The coronation day of a king, is, in a sense, the marriage day betwixt him and his people, and is accordingly solemnized with all the signs and demonstrations of joy and gladness: For the shout of a king is among them. Thus, when the crown of Israel was set upon the head of Solomon, the Scripture represents their exuberant joy in an elegant and lofty hyperbole (1 Kings i, 40): "And all the people came up after him; and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them."

Carnal men rejoice carnally, and spiritual men should rejoice spiritually: The most glorious part of the solemnity of such a day consist in,

1. Praises and prayers for him that wears the crown.
2. In a spiritual improvement of the action to ourselves.

1. In praises and prayers for the king, whom God hath set over us. Your prayers and praises reflect more glory upon

the crown than all the jewels and sparkling stones with which it shines: And so I am persuaded our king will account it; according to Zech. xii, 5: "The governors of Judah shall say in their hearts, The inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be my strength in the Lord of hosts their God."

Praise thy God, O England! for setting thy crown this day upon the head of a Protestant prince, who accounted not his treasures, or blood, dear unto him, to redeem the interest of Christ out of the dangers that were ready to swallow it up.

Pray fervently for your king this day: The concernments of the people of God are so great in him as that they exact from all the saints the uttermost importunity in prayer.

That God would cleanse and wash the crown of England from all that guilt and pollution it hath contracted under former governments, that the sins of the crown may not descend with it.

That the royal head on which it shall be set this day may be filled with the wisdom of God, and matched with an holy heart, inflamed with love to God and zeal for his glory.

That as soon as men have set the crown upon his head he may cheerfully take it off again and cast it at the feet of Jesus Christ as the twenty-four elders did (Rev. iv, 10): "And the twenty-four elders fell down before him that sat on the throne, and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne," etc.

That God would make the crown sit easy and long upon the royal head. Easy, because crowns are usually lined with thorny cares; and long, for the church's peace and tranquillity.

Secondly, The next thing belonging to the due solemnity of this day will be the spiritual improvement of the whole scene of actions, to your own instruction and spiritual advantage; and this will be much more glorious than all the trium-

phant arches, royal robes, thundering guns, and loud acclamations of the people. To this purpose I have chosen this text, for the direction, and spiritualizing of the duties of the day. "Go forth, ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon, with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him, in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart."

This book of the Canticles is a spiritual epithalamium, sung in parts betwixt the heavenly bridegroom and the bride. The matter of it is most spiritual and weighty, the style of it rapturous and lofty, the intimate union and communion of Christ and the church is elegantly illustrated in an allegory of marriage. But nothing is found here light or obscene.

> . . . "Procul hinc, procul este profani:
> Nil hic nisi castum."

It is a crystal stream of pure spiritual love, sliding sweetly betwixt two pleasant banks, Christ and the church.

In the ninth and tenth verses you have the description of a triumphal chariot prepared by king Solomon for the daughters of Jerusalem: "The pillars thereof of silver, the bottom of gold, the covering of purple, and the midst thereof paved with love." A chariot is an instrument framed for easy, safe, and honorable conveyance. This chariot is the covenant of grace, fitted by Christ for the safe and honorable transporting of his bride, the Church, through this world, to her stately pavilion or glorious mansion in the highest heavens.

But how stately and magnificent soever this royal chariot be, he that contrived and framed it is much more glorious to behold, and therefore in the next words, which are my text, believers are summoned and invited to behold and contem-

plate Christ, that framed it: "Go forth, ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon, with his crown," etc. In which words we have,

1. The speetators summoned or invited.
2. The spectacle they are invited to see.

1. The spectators invited: the daughters of Zion. By Zion, understand the Church: and by the daughters of Zion, the members of the Church, or every particular believer: These are here invited or summoned to go forth, that is, of their entangling, diverting temptations: and to behold, namely, by the eye of faith, this most glorious and heart-ravishing object.

2. The spectacle they are invited to behold and contemplate: king Solomon with his crown, etc., the most illustrious, glorious, and ravishing sight that ever the eyes of men did or shall behold. By king Solomon, understand Christ: of whom Solomon in this book is the figure or shadow; yet one to whom Solomon, in all his glory, was but a depainted sun on a sign-post, to the sun in the mid-heavens, shining in all his glory.

And by his crown, understand not any material crown, as that of Solomon's was; but the glory and honor that is put upon Christ, the king of Zion; of which glory a crown is the emblem.

What crown is here meant, interpreters are not all agreed about it; some would have it to be understood of our human nature, which he was crowned withal by his mother, Mary, of whom he took it. But though this assumption of our nature put such a crown of glory upon it as it never had before, yet it was rather an obscuring of Christ's glory than any addition of glory to him.

Others interpret it of the crown of thorns, with which his mother (the Jewish church or synagogue) crowned him in the day of his passion at Jerusalem; but this seems to be as hard and foreign a sense as the former.

The most judicious expositors are agreed in a third sense, namely: That by the crown on Christ's head we are to understand that glory and honor which believers give unto, or put upon Christ, when in the day of their espousals to him in faith, renouncing Satan, sin, and all that had exercised dominion over them before, with all trust and dependence on any righteousness of their own, they give their deliberate, full, and hearty consent that Christ alone shall reign over them for ever and ever, saying, "The Lord is our king, the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver." Christ is "the Lord our righteousness," and in all things we will obey him. This Christ esteems as a crown of glory put upon his head in the day of his espousals and in the day of the gladness of his heart. There is no such honor, no such pleasure a poor sinner can give to Christ as to believe in him; this is as the putting of a crown of glory upon his head. It is true it adds no glory to him, but it is the greatest manifestation of his glory we are capable to make.

Objection. But then it will be objected, in what sense believers can be tolerably styled his mother? For the text tells us it was the crown his mother put upon him.

Answer. They may be so styled in a double respect:

1. Because Christ is formed in every believer, he is (in a spiritual sense) conceived and formed in their souls, as the child is formed in its mother's womb. So the Apostle speaks (Gal. iv, 19): "My little children, of whom I travail again in birth, till Christ be formed in you."

2. In the respect of the dear affection Christ bears to

every soul that believeth in him. No man loves his brother, sister, or mother, as Christ esteems and loves believers (Mark iii, 34). When he was told his mother and brethren were without seeking him, he said, "Behold my mother and my brethren: For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." The day of a sinner's consent to come under Christ's government is the day of his espousals (2 Cor. xi, 2). And the day of a sinner's espousal to Christ is the day of the gladness of his heart (Luke, xv, 32). Thus you have the parts and sense of the text. The point from it is this:

Doct. That the day of a believer's espousals to Christ by faith is to Christ as the day of a king's coronation is to him, even the day of the gladness of his heart.

It is very remarkable, what we find in Luke x, 21, where the Spirit has carefully recorded one hour of joy in the life of Christ; for he had not many, being a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. "In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit," saith the text: And what hour was that? Why, it was the same hour in which the seventy returned with these joyful tidings to him: "Lord, even the devils are subject to us through thy name" (verse 17). The hour when Christ saw "Satan falling as lightning from heaven" (verse 18), his kingdom tottering, his forces routed by the gospel, his subjects running away to Christ, from under his cruel bondage, and made willing to come under his government: "In that hour, Jesus rejoiced in spirit." This was joyful news to Christ, it was the day of the gladness of his heart: he had now got a new throne in the souls of poor sinners, over whom the devil and sin had reigned; this was a crown of glory to Christ.

In opening this point I shall discourse these three things:

1. In what respect a sinner's espousals to Christ resemble the day of a king's coronation over his subjects.

2. Wherein these two days differ from each other.

3. On what accounts it is the day of the gladness of Christ's heart, as the text calls it.

And then apply it.

Let me show the resemblances and agreements which are betwixt the day of a king's coronation and the day of a sinner's espousals to Christ by faith. And this will appear in six respects:

1. A king that is duly crowned over his subjects hath a lawful right to govern them, either by lineal descent, conquest, or compact. Solomon had his right and title to the kingdom by descent from his royal father David, who by his last will and testament constituted and appointed him to be his immediate successor upon the throne of Israel (1 Kings i, 35). The Roman Cæsar's title to that kingdom was by conquest, and this title was legitimated not only by the Jews' acknowledgment of it, but also by Christ's express owning it and submission to it. The people said, "We have no king but Cæsar" (John xix, 15). And Christ owned it (Luke xx, 25) when he had paid tribute, saying, "Give up to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." But David had his title by compact with, and voluntary election of, the people: Abner confers with the elders of Israel about it, and they meet David at Hebron, and there choose him king in the room of Saul (2 Sam. v, 1–5), and that in consideration of the eminent service he had performed for that kingdom in delivering them from their mortal enemies the Philistines, enemies to their religion and civil liberties. And certainly the crown of Israel was not a reward above the merit of such a performance. "Then came all the tribes of Israel to David unto Hebron, and said, Behold we

are thy bone and thy flesh. Also in time past, when Saul was king over us, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the Lord said to thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel: and thou shalt be a captain over Israel. So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron, and king David made a league with them in Hebron before the Lord: and they anointed David king over Israel."

But Christ has right to reign over our souls by all these titles and claims: The throne of our souls, by his Father's constitution and decree (Ps. ii, 6): "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion;" by conquest, for he wins it by the sword of his Spirit, before he possesseth it (2 Cor. x, 4, 5), he casts down by spiritual weapons all that opposeth, and brings every thought into obedience to him. And he hath right, also, by consent and compact (Ps. cx, 3): "The people shall be willing in the day of thy power." Of which more anon.

2. On the coronation day kings appear in all their royal robes, glittering jewels, and all the lustre that can be put upon them; they shine in the eyes of the people more gloriously than all that are about them. *Velut luna, inter minora sidera;* there is none like him in the beauty of his ornaments. Much more doth Christ excel all others in beauty and glory, in the eyes of those that choose him for their Lord and King (1 Pet. ii, 17): "To you that believe, he is precious." Ἱπφή Honor itself (Col. i, 17): "He is before all things; not only in time, or in order, but real dignity, and solid glory and excellency. So his spouse pronounceth him (Ps. xlv, 2): "Thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured into thy lips;" and (Cant. v, 10): My beloved is white and ruddy; the chiefest among ten thousand." Examine and mark all the creatures in both worlds, angels and men, and

they bear no more proportion to Christ in glory than a glow-worm to the sun.

3. On the coronation day the consent of the people is demanded and given. Consent was demanded by Abner in the behalf of David (2 Sam. iii, 17, 18) and freely given by them, in order to David's coronation (2 Sam. v, 1–4). Thus at the coronation of our kings the consent of the nobles and commonalty is demanded on the public theatre in these words:

"I here present you such an one (naming the king), the rightful inheritor of the crown of this realm: Are you willing to do your homage, service, and do bounden duty to him?"

And they say:

"We are willing;" or signify they are so by their loud and joyful acclamations.

So it is when Christ is crowned King over the soul; his right is asserted, and their consent demanded by his ambassadors; the believer manifests his hearty consent (Ps. cx, 3): "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." And over all that are made truly willing to receive him he reigns and invests them with all the privileges of his kingdom (John, i, 12). The unbeliever is not willing to come under Christ's government (John, v, 4). You will not come to me, etc. And the issue of their unwillingness is their eternal ruin (Luke xix, 27). "But those mine enemies, that would not that I should reign over them; bring them hither, and slay them before me." Now to make a soul truly willing to accept Christ's government and give his consent to him, four things must be done upon and by such a soul: 1. He must be convinced of his sin and misery; no man will be willing to change his Lord whilst he finds no matter of complaint. 2. He must know and deliberate upon the terms of Christ; for an

ignorant person cannot be said to consent; *non consentit qui non sentit.* Christ will have all the world to know his terms, and will not hide the worst and hardest thing from them, whether they like them or not. No man shall say afterwards, I was surprised or imposed upon; had I known this I had never consented to be a Christian. Therefore the hardest terms of Christianity are plainly propounded (Luke xiv, 26), and that to cut off all after-pleas and pretences for resiling from Christ (John xvi, 1): "These things have I spoken to you, that ye should not be offended in me." 3. Upon deliberation there must appear to the soul that chooseth Christ, and consents to his government, a preponderating good; that Christ with all his reproaches and sufferings, is better than sin with all its honors and pleasures: No man will change for no advantage, much less to his loss. Thus Moses saw more glory and excellency in the very reproaches of Christ than in all the treasures of Egypt or pleasures of sin (Heb. xi, 25, 26). Oh! saith the soul, though there be hard and bitter sufferings in the way of godliness, yet it is infinitely better for me to endure them for Christ than to be damned. And upon balancing the gains and losses, the conveniences and inconveniences of Christianity, the odds appear so great that the soul pronounceth they are not worthy to be compared (Rom. viii, 18). 4. When all is done there must be a divine Almighty influence upon the will; without which men will never heartily consent to Christ's terms. "No man (saith Christ) can come unto me, except my Father, which hath sent me, draw him" (John vi, 44). This influence of God upon the will is in a way suitable to its nature (Hos. xi, 4) and produces a consent without co-action. If the Lord show any man the infinite advantages that come and accrue to his soul by Christ, this very discovery doth, as

it were, compel that man to come in to Christ; as that expression is used (Luke xiv, 23), a scripture vilely abused in our times. Christ compels none into his kingdom, as the Spaniards did the poor Indians to baptism, or as others have been compelled to the Lord's table: he will reign over a willing people or not reign at all.

4. On the coronation day a champion appears on the king's behalf, to challenge any that shall deny his right, or by allurements or threatenings attempt to draw his subjects from their duty and allegiance: He throws down the gauntlet and defies the proudest enemy the king hath.

So when Christ is crowned King over the souls of his people there is a public defiance bid, a formal challenge given, to all the enemies of Christ and his people; as you may read at large (Rom. viii, 33–35): "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? Who is he that condemneth? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" Devils and men are defied to do their worst. Christ must reign till all his enemies are put under his feet: sin shall not have dominion over his people, for they are not under the law, but under grace. Come, Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek; come Satan, and all his infernal powers; they are all defied in the name of Christ. Believers are his own subjects and none shall pluck them out of his hand.

5. At or about the coronation day an act of indemnity, pardon, and oblivion is passed and published, pardoning the offences the subjects had committed unto that day. Thus it is at the day of Christ's coronation over the believer's soul, and its espousals to him by faith; all his sins are pardoned, new and old, great and small: And of this, proclamation is openly made in the gospel (Acts x, 43): "To him gave all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever

believeth in him shall receive remission of sin." O glorious pardon! free without purchase, full without exception, and final without revocation. Now there is a jail-delivery, the prison doors are open, liberty proclaimed to the captives (Isa. lvi, 1, 2). The King of Zion is a merciful king, and his subjects shall find him so: they have gladded his heart by accepting his government; and he will glad theirs by his pardons: The Son hath made them free, and they are free indeed.

6. In a word, a coronation day is a day of gladness, a day of joy and triumph; joy displays itself in the faces of all loyal subjects; those only that had rather be under another government hang the head and bite the lip.

So it is here: all that are loyal subjects to Jesus Christ rejoice exceedingly in his government; and it must needs be so, because his kingdom consists in joy in the Holy Ghost (Rom. xiv, 17). When Zaccheus came under this King, he came down joyfully (Luke xix, 6, 9); when the eunuch received him for his Lord and King, he went home rejoicing (Acts, viii, 39); when Samaria submitted to his sceptre, there was great joy in that city (Acts viii, 5–7); and let the joy be what it will, the causes of joy are greater than the joy itself. But those that belong to Satan's kingdom, that love to be under the dominion of sin and hate the strictness and severities of religion; these are the only malcontents; these fret to see Christ's kingdom enlarged, and secretly plot to destroy it. Thus we see the agreement betwixt the day of a king's coronation over his subjects and Christ's coronation over believers.

BOURDALOUE

LOUIS BOURDALOUE was born at Bourges, August 20, 1632. He was educated by the Society of Jesus. In 1669 he was called to preach in Paris, and his sermons met with such success that he was soon afterward called to the Court of Louis XIV. He preached there ten times, an unprecedented record. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was sent to Languedoc to preach to the Protestants. He preached at Montpellier in 1686. In the last years of his life Bourdaloue abandoned the pulpit and devoted himself to charitable societies, hospitals and prisons. He died in 1704.

THE PASSION OF CHRIST

THE Passion of Jesus Christ, however sorrowful and ignominious it may appear to us, must nevertheless have been to Jesus Christ himself an object of delight, since this God-man, by a wonderful secret of his wisdom and love, has willed that the mystery of it shall be continued and solemnly renewed in his Church until the final consummation of the world. For what is the Eucharist but a perpetual repetition of the Saviour's Passion, and what has the Saviour supposed in instituting it, but that whatever passed at Calvary is not only represented but consummated on our altars? That is to say, that he is still performing the functions of the victim anew, and is every moment virtually sacrificed, as though it were not sufficient that he should have suffered once. At least that his love, as powerful as it is free, has given to his adorable sufferings that character of perpetuity which they have in

the Sacrament, and which renders them so salutary to us. Behold, Christians, what the love of a God has devised; but behold, also, what has happened through the malice of men! At the same time that Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of his body, repeats his holy Passion in a manner altogether mysterious, men, the false imitators, or rather base corrupters of the works of God, have found means to renew this same Passion, not only in a profane, but in a criminal, sacrilegious, and horrible manner!

Do not imagine that I speak figuratively. Would to God, Christians, that what I am going to say to you were only a figure, and that you were justified in vindicating yourselves to-day against the horrible expressions which I am obliged to employ! I speak in the literal sense; and you ought to be more affected with this discourse, if what I advance appears to you to be overcharged; for it is by your excesses that it is so, and not by my words. Yes, my dear hearers, the sinners of the age, by the disorders of their lives, renew the bloody and tragic Passion of the Son of God in the world; I will venture to say that the sinners of the age cause to the Son of God, even in the state of glory, as many new passions as they have committed outrages against him by their actions! Apply yourselves to form an idea of them; and in this picture, which will surprise you, recognize what you are, that you may weep bitterly over yourselves! What do we see in the Passion of Jesus Christ? A divine Saviour betrayed and abandoned by cowardly disciples, persecuted by pontiffs and hypocritical priests, ridiculed and mocked in the palace of Herod by impious courtiers, placed upon a level with Barabbas, and to whom Barabbas is preferred by a blind and inconstant people, exposed to the insults of

libertinism, and treated as a mock-king by a troop of soldiers equally barbarous and insolent; in fine, crucified by merciless executioners! Behold, in a few words, what is most humiliating and most cruel in the death of the Saviour of the world! Then tell me if this is not precisely what we now see, of what we are every day called to be witnesses. Let us resume; and follow me.

Betrayed and abandoned by cowardly disciples: such, O divine Saviour, has been thy destiny. But it was not enough that the Apostles, the first men whom thou didst choose for thine own, in violation of the most holy engagement, should have forsaken thee in the last scene of thy life; that one of them should have sold thee, another renounced thee, and all disgraced themselves by a flight which was, perhaps, the most sensible of all the wounds that thou didst feel in dying. This wound must be again opened by a thousand acts of infidelity yet more scandalous. Even in the Christian ages we must see men bearing the character of thy disciples, and not having the resolution to sustain it; Christians, prevaricators, and deserters from their faith; Christians ashamed of declaring themselves for thee, not daring to appear what they are, renouncing at least in the exterior what they have professed, flying when they ought to fight; in a word, Christians in form, ready to follow thee even to the Supper when in prosperity, and while it required no sacrifice, but resolved to abandon thee in the moment of temptation. It is on your account, and my own, my dear hearers, that I speak, and behold what ought to be the subject of our sorrow.

A Saviour mortally persecuted by pontiffs and hypocritical priests. Let us not enter, Christians, into the discussion of this article, at which your piety would, perhaps, be of-

fended, and which would weaken or prejudice the respect which you owe to the ministers of the Lord. It belongs to us, my brethren, to meditate to-day on this fact in the spirit of holy compunction; to us consecrated to the ministry of the altars, to us priests of Jesus Christ, whom God has chosen in his Church to be the dispensers of his sacraments. It does not become me to remonstrate in this place. God forbid that I should undertake to judge those who sustain the sacred office! This is not the duty of humility to which my condition calls me. Above all, speaking as I do, before many ministers, the irreprehensible life of whom contributes so much to the edification of the people, I am not yet so infatuated as to make myself the judge, much less the censor of their conduct. But though it should induce you only to acknowledge the favors with which God prevents you, as a contrast, from the frightful blindness into which he permits others to fall, remember that the priests, and the princes of the priests, are those whom the Evangelist describes as the authors of the conspiracy formed against the Saviour of the world, and of the wickedness committed against him. Remember that this scandal is notoriously public, and renewed still every day in Christianity. Remember, but with fear and horror, that the greatest persecutors of Jesus Christ are not lay libertines, but wicked priests; and that among the wicked priests, those whose corruption and iniquity are covered with the veil of hypocrisy are his most dangerous and most cruel enemies. A hatred, disguised under the name of zeal, and covered with the specious pretext of observance of the law, was the first movement of the persecution which the Pharisees and the priests raised against the Son of God. Let us fear lest the same passion should blind us! Wretched pas-

sion, exclaims St. Bernard, which spreads the venom of its malignity even over the most lovely of the children of men, and which could not see a God upon earth without hating him! A hatred not only of the prosperity and happiness, but what is yet more strange, of the merit and perfection of others! A cowardly and shameful passion, which, not content with having caused the death of Jesus Christ, continues to persecute him by rending his mystical body, which is the Church; dividing his members, which are believers; and stifling in their hearts that charity which is the spirit of Christianity! Behold, my brethren, the subtle temptation against which we have to defend ourselves, and under which it is but too common for us to fall!

A Redeemer reviled and mocked in the palace of Herod by the impious creatures of his court! This was, without doubt, one of the most sensible insults which Jesus Christ received. But do not suppose, Christians, that this act of impiety ended there. It has passed from the court of Herod, from that prince destitute of religion, into those even of Christian princes. And is not the Saviour still a subject of ridicule to the libertine spirits which compose them? They worship him externally, but internally how do they regard his maxims? What idea have they of his humility, of his poverty, of his sufferings? Is not virtue either unknown or despised? It is not a rash zeal which induces me to speak in this manner; it is what you too often witness, Christians; it is what you perhaps feel in yourselves; and a little reflection upon the manners of the court will convince you that there is nothing that I say which is not confirmed by a thousand examples, and that you yourselves are sometimes unhappy accomplices in these crimes

Herod had often earnestly wished to see Jesus Christ. The reputation which so many miracles had given him excited the curiosity of this prince, and he did not doubt but that a man who commanded all nature might strike some wonderful blow to escape from the persecution of his enemies. But the Son of God, who had not been sparing of his prodigies for the salvation of others, spared them for himself, and would not say a single word about his own safety. He considered Herod and his people as profane persons, with whom he thought it improper to hold any intercourse, and he preferred rather to pass for a fool than to satisfy the false wisdom of the world. As his kingdom was not of this world, as he said to Pilate, it was not at the court that he designed to establish himself. He knew too well that his doctrine could not be relished in a place where the rules of worldly wisdom only were followed, and where all the miracles which he had performed had not been sufficient to gain men full of love for themselves and intoxicated with their greatness. In this corrupted region they breathe only the air of vanity; they esteem only that which is splendid; they speak only of preferment: and on whatever side we cast our eyes, we see nothing but what either flatters or inflames the ambitious desires of the heart of man.

What probability then was there that Jesus Christ, the most humble of all men, should obtain a hearing where only pageantry and pride prevail? If he had been surrounded with honors and riches, he would have found partisans near Herod and in every other place. But as he preached a renunciation of the world both to his disciples and to himself, let us not be astonished that they treated him with so much disdain. Such is the prediction of the holy man Job, and

which after him must be accomplished in the person of all the righteous; "the upright man is laughed to scorn." In fact, my dear hearers, you know that, whatever virtue and merit we may possess, they are not enough to procure us esteem at court. Enter it, and appear only like Jesus Christ clothed with the robe of innocence; only walk with Jesus Christ in the way of simplicity; only speak as Jesus Christ to render testimony to the truth, and you will find that you meet with no better treatment there than Jesus Christ. To be well received there, you must have pomp and splendor. To keep your station there, you must have artifice and intrigue. To be favorably heard there, you must have complaisance and flattery. Then all this is opposed to Jesus Christ; and the court being what it is, that is to say, the kingdom of the prince of this world, it is not surprising that the kingdom of Jesus Christ cannot be established there. But woe to you, princes of the earth! Woe to you, men of the world, who despise this incarnate wisdom, for you shall be despised in your turn, and the contempt which shall fall upon you shall be much more terrible than the contempt which you manifest can be prejudicial.

A Saviour placed upon a level with Barabbas, and to whom Barabbas is preferred by a blind and fickle rabble! How often have we been guilty of the same outrage against Jesus Christ as the blind and fickle Jews! How often, after having received him in triumph in the sacrament of the Communion, seduced by cupidity, have we not preferred either a pleasure or interest after which we sought, in violation of his law, to this God of glory! How often, divided between conscience which governed us, and passion which corrupted us, have we not renewed this abominable

judgment, this unworthy preference of the creature even above our God! Christians, observe this application; it is that of St. Chrysostom, and if you properly understand it, you must be affected by it. Conscience, which, in spite of ourselves, presides in us as judge, said inwardly to us, "What art thou going to do? Behold thy pleasure on the one hand, and thy God on the other: for which of the two dost thou declare thyself? for thou canst not save both; thou must either lose thy pleasure or thy God; and it is for thee to decide." And the passion, which by a monstrous infidelity had acquired the influence over our hearts, made us conclude—I will keep my pleasure. "But what then will become of thy God," replied conscience secretly, "and what must I do, I, who cannot prevent myself from maintaining his interests against thee?" I care not what will become of my God, answered passion insolently; I will satisfy myself, and the resolution is taken. "But dost thou know," proceeded conscience by its remorse, "that in indulging thyself in this pleasure it will at last submit thy Saviour to death and crucifixion for thee?" It is of no consequence if he be crucified, provided I can have my enjoyments. "But what evil has he done, and what reason hast thou to abandon him in this manner?" My pleasure is my reason; and since Christ is the enemy of my pleasure, and my pleasure crucifies him, I say it again, let him be crucified.

Behold, my dear hearers, what passes every day in the consciences of men, and what passes in you and in me, every time that we fall into sin, which causes death to Jesus Christ, as well as to our souls! Behold what makes the enormity and wickedness of this sin! I know that we do not always speak, that we do not always explain our-

selves in such express terms and in so perceptible a manner; but after all, without explaining ourselves so distinctly and so sensibly, there is a language of the heart which says all this. For, from the moment that I know that this pleasure is criminal and forbidden of God, I know that it is impossible for me to desire it, impossible to seek it, without losing God; and consequently I prefer this pleasure to God in the desire that I form of it, and in the pursuit that I make after it. This, then, is sufficient to justify the thought of St. Chrysostom and the doctrine of the theologians upon the nature of deadly sin.

A Saviour exposed to insults and treated as a mock-king by a troop of feigned worshippers! What a spectacle, Christians! Jesus Christ, the eternal Word, covered with a pitiful, purple robe, a reed in his hand, a crown of thorns upon his head, delivered to an insolent soldiery, who, according to the expression of Clement Alexandrine, made a theatrical king of him whom the angels adore with trembling! They bowed the knee before him, and, with the most cutting derision, they snatched from him the reed which he held, to strike him on the head. An act too much resembling the impieties which are every day committed, during the celebration of our most august mysteries! Were he to appear in all his majesty, such as he will display at his second coming, you would be seized with fear. But, says St. Bernard, the more he is little, the more worthy is he of our respects; since it is his love, and not necessity, which reduces him to his state of abasement. But it appears that you take pleasure in destroying his work, by opposing your malice to his goodness. You insult him, even on the throne of his grace; and, to use the words of the Apostle, you do not fear to trample underfoot the

blood of the New Testament! For, indeed, what else do you do by so many acts of irreverence, and so many scandals which equally dishonor the sanctuary which you enter and the God which it contains?

Ah, my brethren, I might well ask the greater part of the Christians of the present day, what St. Bernard asked them in his time: What do you think of your God, and what idea have you conceived of him? If he occupied the rank which he ought to occupy in your minds, would you proceed to such extremes in his presence? Would you go to his feet to insult him? for I call it insulting Jesus Christ to come before the altars to unbend ourselves, to amuse ourselves, to speak, to converse, to trouble the sacred mysteries by immodest smiles and laughter. I call it insulting the majesty of Jesus Christ to remain in his presence in indecent postures and with as little decorum as in a public place. I call it insulting the humility of Jesus Christ to make an ostentatious display before his eyes of all the luxury and all the vanities of the world. I call it insulting the holiness of Jesus Christ to bring near his tabernacle, and into his holy house, a shameful passion which we entertain and kindle afresh there, by bold looks, by sensual desires, by the most dissolute discourses, and sometimes by the most sacrilegious abominations. God formerly complained of the infidelity of his people, addressing them by the mouth of his prophet—"Thou hast profaned my holy name." But it is not only his name that we profane, it is his body; it is his blood; it is his infinite merits; it is even his divinity; it is all that he possesses that is venerable and great. Nevertheless, do not deceive yourselves; for the Lord will have a day of reckoning; and, justly incensed at so many injuries, he will not allow you to escape with

impunity; but he will know how to avenge himself by covering you with eternal confusion!

In fine, Christians, a Saviour crucified by merciless executioners, the last effect of the cruelty of men upon the innocent person of the Son of God. It was at the foot of that cross, where we see him suspended, that the justice of the Father waited for him during four thousand years. Thus he regarded it, however frightful it might seem, as an object of delight; because he there found the reparation of the divine glory and the punishment of our offences. But in proportion as this first cross had charms for him, in that same proportion does he feel horror at that which our sins prepare for him every day. It is not, said St. Augustine, the rigor of that of which he complains, but the cruelty and the weight of this appear to him insupportable! He knew that his cross, ignominious as it was, would be transferred from Calvary, as speaks St. Augustine, to the heads of the emperors. He foresaw that his death would be the salvation of the world, and that his Father would one day render his ignominy so glorious, that it would become the hope and the happiness of all nations. But in this other cross, where we fasten him ourselves by sin, what is there, and what can there be to console him? Nothing but his love despised! His favors rejected! Unworthy creatures preferred to the Creator!

If, then, the sun concealed himself that he might not give his light to the barbarous action of his enemies who crucified him, sinner, what darkness ought not to cover from view thy wanderings and thy excesses? For it is by these—understand it yet once more, if you have not sufficiently understood it—it is by these, my dear hearers, that you incessantly renew all the Passion of Jesus Christ. It

is not I who say it, it is St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "They crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." As if this great Apostle would explain himself thus. Do not think, my brethren, that they were the Jews only who imbrued their hands in the blood of the Saviour. Ye are accomplices in this deicide. And by what means? By your impieties, your sacrileges, your obscenities, your jealousies, your resentments, your antipathies, your revenge, and whatever corrupts your heart and excites it to revolt against God! Is it not then just, that while you weep over Jesus Christ you should yet weep more over yourselves, since ye are not only the authors of his death, but your sins destroy all the merit of it, as it respects yourselves, and render it useless and even prejudicial to you; as it remains for me to prove in the third part.

That there are men, and Christian men, to whom, by a secret judgment of God, the Passion of Jesus Christ, salutary as it is, may become useless, is a truth too essential in our religion to be unknown, and too sorrowful not to be the subject of our grief. When the Saviour from the height of his cross, ready to give up his spirit, raised this cry toward heaven, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" there was no one who did not suppose but that the violence of his torments forced from him this complaint, and perhaps we ourselves yet believe it. But the great Bishop Arnauld de Chartres, penetrating deeper into the thoughts and affections of this dying Saviour, says, with much more reason, that the complaint of Christ Jesus to his Father proceeded from the sentiment with which he was affected, in representing to himself the little fruit which his death would produce; in considering the small number of the elect who

would profit by it; in foreseeing with horror the infinite number of the reprobate, for whom it would be useless: as if he had wished to proclaim that his merits were not fully enough nor worthily enough remunerated; and that after having done so much work he had a right to promise to himself a different success in behalf of men. The words of this author are admirable: Jesus Christ complains, says this learned prelate, but of what does he complain? That the wickedness of sinners makes him lose what ought to be the reward of the conflicts which he has maintained. That millions of the human race for whom he suffers will, nevertheless, be excluded from the benefit of redemption. And because he regards himself in them as their head, and themselves, in spite of their worthlessness, as the members of his mystical body; seeing them abandoned by God, he complains of being abandoned himself: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" He complains of what made St. Paul groan when, transported with an apostolic zeal, he said to the Galatians: "What, my brethren, is Jesus Christ then dead in vain? Is the mystery of the cross then nothing to you? Will not this blood which he has so abundantly shed have the virtue to sanctify you?"

But here, Christians, I feel myself affected with a thought which, contrary as it appears to that of the Apostle, only serves to strengthen and confirm it. For it appears that St. Paul is grieved because Jesus Christ has suffered in vain; but I, I should almost console myself if he had only suffered in vain, and if his Passion was only rendered useless to us. That which fills me with consternation is, that at the same time that we render it useless to ourselves, by an inevitable necessity it must become pernicious; for this Passion, says St. Gregory of Nazianzen,

"partakes of the nature of those remedies which kill if they do not heal, and of which the effect is either to give life or to convert itself into poison; lose nothing of this, I beseech you." Remember, then, Christians, what happened during the judgment and at the moment of the condemnation of the Son of God.

When Pilate washed his hands before the Jews and declared to them that there was nothing worthy of death in this righteous man, but that the crime from which he freed himself rested upon them, and that they would have to answer for it, they all cried with one voice that they consented to it, and that they readily agreed that the blood of this just man should fall upon them and upon their children. You know what this cry has cost them. You know the curses which one such imprecation has drawn upon them, the anger of Heaven which began from that time to burst upon this nation, the ruin of Jerusalem which followed soon after—the carnage of their citizens, the profanation of their temple, the destruction of their republic, the visible character of their reprobation which their unhappy posterity bear to this day, that universal banishment, that exile of sixteen hundred years, that slavery through all the earth—and all in consequence of the authentic prediction which Jesus Christ made to them of it when going to Calvary, and with circumstances which incontestably prove that a punishment as exemplary as this cannot be imputed but to the deicide which they had committed in the person of the Saviour; since it is evident, says St. Augustine, that the Jews were never further from idolatry nor more religious observers of their law than they were then, and that, excepting the crime of the death of Jesus Christ, God, very far from punishing them, would, it seems, rather have

loaded them with his blessings. You know all this, I say; and all this is a convincing proof that the blood of this God-man is virtually fallen upon these sacrilegious men, and that God, in condemning them by their own mouth, although in spite of himself, employs that to destroy them which was designed for their salvation.

But, Christians, to speak with the Holy Spirit, this has happened to the Jews only as a figure; it is only the shadow of the fearful curses of which the abuse of the merits and Passion of the Son of God must be to us the source and the measure. I will explain myself. What do we, my dear hearers, when borne away by the immoderate desires of our hearts to a sin against which our consciences protest? And what do we, when, possessed of the spirit of the world, we resist a grace which solicits us, which presses us to obey God? Without thinking upon it, and without wishing it, we secretly pronounce the same sentence of death which the Jews pronounced against themselves before Pilate, when they said to him, "His blood be upon us." For this grace which we despise is the price of the blood of Jesus Christ, and the sin that we commit is an actual profanation of this very blood. It is, then, as if we were to say to God: "Lord, I clearly see what engagement I make, and I know what risk I run, but rather than not satisfy my own desires, I consent that the blood of thy Son shall fall upon me. This will be to bear the chastisement of it, but I will indulge my passion; thou hast a right to draw forth from it a just indignation, but nevertheless I will complete my undertaking."

Thus we condemn ourselves. And here, Christians, is one of the essential foundations of this terrible mystery of the eternity of the punishments with which faith threat-

ens us, and against which our reason revolts. We suppose that we cannot have any knowledge of it in this life, and we are not aware, says St. Chrysostom, that we find it completely in the blood of the Saviour, or rather in our profanation of it every day. For this blood, my brethren, adds this holy doctor, is enough to make eternity, not less frightful, but less incredible. And behold the reason: This blood is of an infinite dignity; it can therefore be avenged only by an infinite punishment. This blood, if we destroy ourselves, will cry eternally against us at the tribunal of God. It will eternally excite the wrath of God against us. This blood, falling upon lost souls, will fix a stain upon them, which shall never be effaced. Their torments must consequently never end.

A reprobate in hell will always appear in the eyes of God stained with that blood which he has so basely treated. God will then always abhor him; and, as the aversion of God from his creature is that which makes hell, it must be inferred that hell will be eternal. And in this, O my God, thou art sovereignly just, sovereignly holy, and worthy of our praise and adoration. It is in this way that the Beloved Disciple declared it even to God himself in the Apocalypse. Men, said he, have shed the blood of thy servants and of thy prophets; therefore they deserve to drink it, and to drink it from the cup of thine indignation. "For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou has given them blood to drink." An expression which the Scripture employs to describe the extreme infliction of divine vengeance. Ah! if the blood of the prophets has drawn down the scourge of God upon men, what may we not expect from the blood of Jesus Christ? If the blood of martyrs is heard crying out in heaven

against the persecutors of the faith, how much more will the blood of the Redeemer be heard!

Then once more, Christians, behold the deplorable necessity to which we are reduced. This blood which flows from Calvary either demands grace for us, or justice against us. When we apply ourselves to it by a lively faith and a sincere repentance, it demands grace; but when by our disorders and impieties we check its salutary virtue, it demands justice, and it infallibly obtains it. It is in this blood, says St. Bernard, that all righteous souls are purified; but by a prodigy exactly opposite, it is also in this same blood that all the sinners of the land defile themselves, and render themselves, if I may use the expression, more hideous in the sight of God.

Ah! my God, shall I eternally appear in thine eyes polluted with that blood which washes away the crimes of others? If I had simply to bear my own sins, I might promise myself a punishment less rigorous, considering my sins as my misfortune, my weakness, my ignorance. Then, perhaps, thou wouldst be less offended on account of them. But when these sins with which I shall be covered shall present themselves before me as so many sacrileges with respect to the blood of thy Son; when the abuse of this blood shall be mixed and confounded with all the disorders of my life; when there shall not be one of them against which this blood shall not cry louder than the blood of Abel against Cain; then, O God of my soul! what will become of me in thy presence? No, Lord, cries the same St. Bernard, affectionately, suffer not the blood of my Saviour to fall upon me in this manner. Let it fall upon me to sanctify, but let it not fall upon me to destroy. Let it fall upon me in a right use of the favors which are the

divine overflowings of it, and not through the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, which are the most terrible punishments of it. Let it fall upon me by the participation of the sacred Eucharist, which is the precious source of it, and not by the maledictions attached to the despisers of thy sacraments. In fine, let it fall upon me by influencing my conduct and inducing the practice of good works, and let it not fall upon me for my wanderings, my infidelities, my obstinacy, and my impenitence. This, my brethren, is what we ought to ask to-day from Jesus Christ crucified. It is with these views that we ought to go to the foot of the cross and catch the blood as it flows. He was the Saviour of the Jews as well as ours, but this Saviour, St. Augustine says, the Jews have converted into their judge. Avert from us such an evil. May he who died to save us be our Saviour. May he be our Saviour during all the days of our lives. And may his merits, shed upon us abundantly, lose none of their efficacy in our hands, but be preserved entire by the fruits we produce from them. May he be our Saviour in death. And at the last moment may the cross be our support, and thus may he consummate the work of our salvation which he has begun. May he be our Saviour in a blessed eternity, where we shall be as much the sharer in his glory as we have been in his sufferings.

FLECHIER

ESPRIT FLÉCHIER, who must be classed with Bossuet and Massillon among the great pulpit orators of France, was born at Pernes in 1632, and educated by an uncle on his mother's side who was general of the "Fathers of the Congregation of Christian Doctrines." By his funeral orations, one of which is here reproduced in part, he acquired great favor at the Court of Louis XIV., and in 1687 was made Bishop of Nîmes. He died February 16, 1710.

ORATION ON THE DEATH OF TURENNE

PARIS, JANUARY 10, 1676

HOW difficult it is to be at once victorious and humble! Military success leaves in the mind I know not what exquisite pleasure, which fills and absorbs it. In such circumstances, one attributes to himself a superiority of force and capacity. He crowns himself with his own hands; he decrees to himself a secret triumph; he regards as his own the laurels which he gathers with infinite toil, and frequently moistens with his blood; and even when he renders to God solemn thanks, and hangs in his temples the torn and blood-stained trophies which he has taken from the enemy, is not vanity liable to stifle a portion of his gratitude, and mingle with the vows which he pays to God applauses which he thinks due to himself; at least, does he not retain some grains of the incense which he burns upon his altars?

It was on such occasions that Marshal Turenne, renounc-

ing all pretensions, returned all the glory to him to whom it legitimately belongs. If he marches, he acknowledges that it is God who protects and guides him; if he defends fortresses, he knows that he defends them in vain if God does not guard them; if he forms an intrenchment, he feels that it is God who forms a rampart around him to defend him from every attack; if he fights, he knows whence to draw all his force; and if he triumphs, he thinks that he sees an invisible hand crowning him from heaven. Referring thus all the favors he receives to their origin, he thence derives new blessings. No longer does he fear the enemies by whom he is surrounded; without being surprised at their numbers or strength, he exclaims with the prophet: "Some trust in their horses and chariots, but we will trust in the Almighty." In this steadfast and just confidence, he redoubles his ardor, forms great designs, executes great things and begins a campaign, which appears as if it must prove fatal to the empire.

He passes the Rhine, and eludes the vigilance of an accomplished and prudent general. He observes the movements of the enemy. He raises the courage of the allies; controls the suspicions and vacillating faith of neighboring powers. He takes away from the one the will, from the other the means of injuring him; and profiting by all those important conjunctures which prepare the way for great and glorious events, he leaves to fortune nothing which human skill and counsel can take from him. Already has a panic seized the enemy. Already has that eagle taken its flight to the mountains, whose bold approach alarmed our provinces. Those brazen mouths, invented by the bottomless pit for the destruction of men, thunder on all sides, to favor and precipitate the retreat; and France, in suspense, awaits

the success of an enterprise which, according to all the rules of war, must be infallible.

Alas! we knew all that we might hope, but we knew not all that we might fear. Divine Providence concealed from us a calamity greater than the loss of a battle. It was to cost a life which each of us would have been willing to redeem with his own; and all that we could gain was of less value than what we were to lose. O God! terrible but just in thy counsels toward the children of men, thou disposest of victors and victories! To fulfil thy pleasure, and cause us to fear thy judgments, thy power casts down those whom it has lifted up. Thou sacrificest to thy Sovereign Majesty the noblest victims, and strikest, at thy pleasure, those illustrious heads which thou hast so often crowned!

Do not suppose, messieurs, that I am going to open here a tragic scene; to represent that great man stretched upon his own trophies; to uncover that body, blood-stained and ghastly, over which still lingers the smoke of the thunder which struck it; to cause his blood, like that of Abel's, to cry from the ground, or expose to your eyes the mournful images of your country and religion in tears! In slight losses we may thus surprise the pity of our auditors, and by studied efforts draw from their eyes a few forced and useless tears. But we describe, without art, a death which we mourn without deceit. Every one finds in himself the source of his grief, and reopens his own wound; and it is not necessary to excite the imagination in order to affect the heart.

Here I am almost forced to interrupt my discourse. I am troubled, messieurs! Turenne dies! All is confusion —fortune vacillates—victory leaves us—peace takes its flight —the good intentions of the allies relax—the courage of the

troops fails with grief, anon burns with vengeance—the whole army remain motionless. The wounded think of the loss which they have suffered, and not of the wounds which they have received. Dying fathers see their sons weeping over their dead general. The army, in mourning, is engaged in rendering him funeral honors, and fame, which delights to spread through the world extraordinary events, goes to make known through Europe the glorious history of the prince's life, and the regrets occasioned by his death.

What sighs, what lamentations and praises, then re-echo through the cities and the country. One, looking upon his growing crops, blesses the memory of him to whom he owes the hope of his harvest. Another, who enjoys in repose the heritage which he received from his fathers, prays that eternal peace may be his who saved him from the horrors and cruelties of war. Here they offer the adorable sacrifice for him who sacrificed his life for the public good. There others prepare for him a funeral service, where they expected to prepare a triumph. Each selects for praise that point in his glorious life which appears the most illustrious. All unite in his eulogy. With mingled sobs and tears, they admire the past, regret the present, and tremble for the future. Thus the whole empire mourns the death of its defender. The loss of a single man is felt to be a public calamity.

Wherefore, my God, if I may presume to pour out my heart in thy presence, and speak to thee, who am but dust and ashes, wherefore did we lose him in our most pressing necessity, in the midst of his greatest achievements, at the highest point of his valor, and in the maturity of his wis-

dom? Was it that, after so many actions worthy of immortality, he had nothing further of a mortal nature to perform? Had the time arrived when he was to enjoy the reward of so many virtues, and receive from thee the crown of righteousness which thou reservest for such as have finished a glorious career? Perhaps we placed too much confidence in him, for thou forbiddest us in the Sacred Scriptures to trust in an arm of flesh, or put confidence in the children of men. Perhaps it was a punishment of our pride, ambition, and injustice. As the gross vapors ascend from the depths of the valleys and form themselves into thunder which falls upon the mountains, so rises from the hearts of the people those iniquities, the punishment of which falls upon the heads of such as govern and defend them. I presume not, O Lord, to sound the depths of thy judgments, nor to discover the secret and inscrutable causes from which thy justice or thy mercy acts. It is my duty and desire only to adore! But thou art just, and thou hast afflicted us. And in an age so corrupt as ours, we need not seek elsewhere the causes of our calamities than in the disorder of our manners.

Let us, then, messieurs, derive from our sorrows motives for penitence, and seek only in the piety of that great man true and substantial consolation. Citizens, strangers, enemies, nations, kings, and emperors mourn and revere him. Yet what can all this contribute to his real happiness? His king even, and such a king! honors him with his regrets and tears—a noble and precious mark of affection and esteem for a subject, but useless to a Christian. He shall live, I acknowledge, in the minds and memories of men, but the Scripture teaches us that the thoughts of man, and man himself, are but vanity. A magnificent tomb may in-

close his sad remains; but he shall rise again from that superb monument, not to be praised for his heroic exploits, but to be judged according to his work, whether good or bad. His ashes shall mingle with those of the numerous kings who governed the kingdom which he so generously defended; but, after all, what remains under those precious marbles, either to him or to them, of human applause, the pomp of courts, or the splendor of fortune, but an eternal silence, a frightful solitude, and a terrible expectation of the judgment of God? Let the world, then, honor as it will the glory of man, God only is the recompense of faithful Christians.

O death, too sudden! nevertheless, through the mercy of God, long anticipated, of how many edifying words and holy examples hast thou deprived us? We might have seen him, sublime spectacle! a Christian dying humbly in the midst of triumphs and victories. With what profound sincerity would he have mourned his past errors, abasing himself before the majesty of God, and imploring the succor of his arm, not against visible enemies, but against the enemies of his salvation! His living faith and fervent charity, doubtless, would have deeply affected our hearts; and he might have remained to us a model of confidence without presumption, of fear without feebleness, of penitence without artifice, of constancy without affectation, and of a death precious in the sight both of God and of man.

Are not these conjectures just? They were involved in his character. They were his cherished designs. He had resolved to live in a manner so holy that it is presumed he would have died in the same way. Ready to cast all his crowns at the feet of Jesus Christ, like the conquerors in the Apocalypse, ready to gather together all his honors,

and dispossess himself of them, by a voluntary renunciation, he no longer belonged to the world, though Providence retained him in it. In the tumult of armies, he solaced himself with the sweet and secret aspirations of solitude. With one hand he smote the Amalekites, and with the other, stretched out to heaven, he drew down the blessing of God. This Joshua, in battle, already performed the functions of Moses upon the Mount, and, under the arms of a warrior, bore the heart and will of a penitent.

O God! who piercest the profoundest depths of our consciences, and seest the most secret intentions of our hearts, even before they are formed, receive into the bosom of thy glory that soul, ever occupied with thoughts of thine eternity! Honor those desires with which thou didst inspire him! Time failed him, but not the courage to fulfil them. If thou requirest works with desires, behold the charities which he made or destined for the comfort and salvation of his brethren; behold the souls which, with thine aid, he brought back from error; behold the blood of thy people which he so frequently spared; behold his own blood which he so generously shed on our behalf; and yet more than all, behold the blood shed for him by Jesus Christ.

Ministers of God, complete the holy sacrifice! Christians, redouble your vows and prayers, that God, as a recompense for his toils, may admit his spirit to the house of everlasting repose, and give him an infinite peace in heaven, who three times procured for us a peace on earth, evanescent, it is true, yet ever delightful, ever desirable!

FENELON

FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FÉNELON was born in Périgord, August 6, 1651. He was educated at home until the age of twelve. After a short time at the College of Cahors, he went to Paris to complete his studies under the Jesuits at the Collège du Plessis. From 1675 to 1685 he occupied the office of Superior of the Community of Nouvelles Catholiques. During this period he produced his treatises On the Education of Young Girls and a treatise On the Ministry of Pastors. In 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Fénelon was appointed as head of a commission to allay the irritation resulting therefrom. Shortly after, he became preceptor of the Dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy, retaining this post for six years. In the beginning of 1695, Louis XIV. nominated Fénelon for the Archbishopric of Cambray. After a quarrel with Bossuet, in which the king sided with the latter, Fénelon was permanently banished from the court and condemned at Rome in 1699. His "Télémaque," in which the king saw a satire of himself and his court, was published through the treachery of his secretary. The remainder of Fénelon's life was spent in his diocese. He died on the 17th of January, 1715.

SIMPLICITY AND GREATNESS

THERE is a simplicity that is a defect, and a simplicity that is a virtue. Simplicity may be a want of discernment. When we speak of a person as simple, we may mean that he is credulous and perhaps vulgar. The simplicity that is a virtue is something sublime; every one loves and admires it; but it is difficult to say exactly what this virtue is.

Simplicity is an uprightness of soul that has no reference to self; it is different from sincerity, and it is a still higher virtue. We see many people who are sincere, without being simple; they only wish to pass for what they are,

and they are unwilling to appear what they are not; they are always thinking of themselves, measuring their words, and recalling their thoughts, and renewing their actions, from the fear that they have done too much or too little. These persons are sincere, but they are not simple; they are not at ease with others and others are not at ease with them; they are not free, ingenuous, natural; we prefer people who are less correct, less perfect, and who are less artificial. This is the decision of man, and it is the judgment of God, who would not have us so occupied with ourselves, and thus, as it were, always arranging our features in a mirror.

To be wholly occupied with others, never to look within, is the state of blindness of those who are entirely engrossed by what is present and addressed to their senses; this is the very reverse of simplicity. To be absorbed in self in whatever engages us, whether we are laboring for our fellow-beings or for God—to be wise in our own eyes, reserved, and full of ourselves, troubled at the least thing that disturbs our self-complacency, is the opposite extreme. This is false wisdom, which, with all its glory, is but little less absurd than that folly which pursues only pleasure. The one is intoxicated with all that it sees around it; the other with all that it imagines it has within; but it is delirium in both. To be absorbed in the contemplation of our own minds is really worse than to be engrossed by outward things, because it appears like wisdom and yet is not; we do not think of curing it; we pride ourselves upon it; we approve of it; it gives us an unnatural strength; it is a sort of frenzy; we are not conscious of it; we are dying, and we think ourselves in health.

Simplicity consists in a just medium, in which we are

neither too much excited, nor too composed. The soul is not carried away by outward things, so that it cannot make all necessary reflections; neither does it make those continual references to self, that a jealous sense of its own excellence multiplies to infinity. That freedom of the soul, which looks straight onward in its path, losing no time to reason upon its steps, to study them, or to contemplate those that it has already taken, is true simplicity.

The first step in the progress of the soul is disengagement from outward things, that it may enter into itself, and contemplate its true interests; this is a wise self-love. The second is, to join to this the idea of God whom it fears: this is the feeble beginning of true wisdom; but the soul is still fixed upon itself; it is afraid that it does not fear God enough; it is still thinking of itself. These anxieties about ourselves are far removed from that peace and liberty which a true and simple love inspires; but it is not yet time for this; the soul must pass through this trouble; this operation of the spirit of God in our hearts comes to us gradually; we approach step by step to this simplicity. In the third and last state, we begin to think of God more frequently, we think of ourselves less, and insensibly we lose ourselves in him.

The more gentle and docile the soul is, the more it advances in this simplicity. It does not become blind to its own defects, and unconscious of its imperfections; it is more than ever sensible of them; it feels a horror of the slightest sin; it sees more clearly its own corruption; but this sensibility does not arise from dwelling upon itself, but by the light from the presence of God, we see how far removed we are from infinite purity.

Thus simplicity is free in its course, since it makes no

preparation; but it can only belong to the soul that is purified by a true penitence. It must be the fruit of a perfect renunciation of self, and an unreserved love of God. But though they, who become penitents, and tear themselves from the vanities of the world, make self the object of thought, yet they must avoid an excessive and unquiet occupation with themselves, such as would trouble, and embarrass, and retard them in their progress. Dwelling too much upon self produces in weak minds useless scruples and superstition, and in stronger minds a presumptuous wisdom. Both are contrary to true simplicity, which is free and direct, and gives itself up, without reserve and with a generous self-forgetfulness, to the Father of spirits. How free, how intrepid are the motions, how glorious the progress that the soul makes, when delivered from all low, and interested, and unquiet cares.

If we desire that our friends be simple and free with us, disencumbered of self in their intimacy with us, will it not please God, who is our truest friend, that we should surrender our souls to him, without fear or reserve, in that holy and sweet communion with himself which he allows us? It is this simplicity, which is the perfection of the true children of God. This is the end that we must have in view, and to which we must be continually advancing.

This deliverance of the soul from all useless, and selfish, and unquiet cares, brings to it a peace and freedom that are unspeakable; this is true simplicity. It is easy to perceive, at the first glance, how glorious it is; but experience alone can make us comprehend the enlargement of heart that it produces. We are then like a child in the arms of its parent; we wish nothing more; we fear nothing; we yield ourselves up to this pure attachment; we are not anxious

about what others think of us; all our motions are free, graceful, and happy. We do not judge ourselves, and we do not fear to be judged. Let us strive after this lovely simplicity; let us seek the path that leads to it. The further we are from it, the more we must hasten our steps toward it. Very far from being simple, most Christians are not even sincere. They are not only disingenuous, but they are false, and they dissemble with their neighbor, with God, and with themselves. They practice a thousand little arts that indirectly distort the truth. Alas! every man is a liar; those even who are naturally upright, sincere, and ingenuous, and who are what is called simple and natural, still have this jealous and sensitive reference to self in everything which secretly nourishes pride and prevents that true simplicity which is the renunciation and perfect oblivion of self.

But it will be said, How can I help being occupied with myself? A crowd of selfish fears trouble me, and tyrannize over my mind, and excite a lively sensibility. The principal means to cure this is to yield yourself up sincerely to God, to place all your interests, pleasures, and reputation in his hands, to receive all the sufferings that he may inflict upon you in this scene of humiliation, as trials and tests of your love to him, neither to fear the scrutiny, nor to avoid the censure of mankind. This state of willing acquiescence produces true liberty, and this liberty brings perfect simplicity. A soul that is liberated from the little earthly interests of self-love becomes confiding, and moves straight onward, and its views expand even to infinity, just in proportion as its forgetfulness of self increases, and its peace is profound even in the midst of trouble.

I have already said that the opinion of the world con-

forms to the judgment of God upon this noble simplicity. The world admires, even in its votaries, the free and easy manners of a person who has lost sight of self. But the simplicity, which is produced by a devotion to external things, still more vain than self, is not the true simplicity; it is only an image of it, and cannot represent its greatness. They who cannot find the substance, pursue the shadow; and shadow as it is, it has a charm, for it has some resemblance to the reality that they have lost. A person full of defects, who does not attempt to hide them, who does not seek to dazzle, who does not affect either talents or virtue, who does not appear to think of himself more than of others, but to have lost sight of this self of which we are so jealous, pleases greatly, in spite of his defects. This false simplicity is taken for the true. On the contrary, a person full of talents, of virtues, and of exterior graces, if he appear artificial, if he be thinking of himself, if he affect the very best things, is a tedious and wearisome companion that no one likes.

Nothing, then, we grant, is more lovely and grand than simplicity. But some will say, Must we never think of self? We need not practice this constraint; in trying to be simple, we may lose simplicity. What, then, must we do? Make no rule about it, but be satisfied that you affect nothing. When you are disposed to speak of yourself from vanity, you can only repress this strong desire by thinking of God, or of what you are called upon by him to do. Simplicity does not consist in false shame or false modesty, any more than in pride or vainglory. When vanity would lead to egotism, we have only to turn from self; when, on the contrary, there is a necessity of speaking of ourselves, we must not reason too much about it, we

must look straight at the end. But what will they think of me? They will think I am boasting; I shall be suspected in speaking so freely of my own concerns. None of these unquiet reflections should trouble us for one moment. Let us speak freely, ingenuously, and simply of ourselves when we are called upon to speak. It is thus that St. Paul spoke often in his Epistles. What true greatness there is in speaking with simplicity of one's self. Vainglory is sometimes hidden under an air of modesty and reserve. People do not wish to proclaim their own merit, but they would be very glad that others should discover it. They would have the reputation both of virtue and of the desire to hide it.

As to the matter of speaking against ourselves, I do not either blame or recommend it. When it arises from true simplicity, and that hatred with which God inspires us for our sins, it is admirable, and thus I regard it in many holy men. But usually the surest and most simple way is not to speak unnecessarily of one's self, either good or evil. Self-love often prefers abuse to oblivion and silence; and when we have often spoken ill of ourselves, we are quite ready to be reconciled, just like angry lovers, who, after a quarrel, redouble their blind devotion to each other.

This simplicity is manifested in the exterior. As the mind is freed from this idea of self, we act more naturally, all art ceases, and we act rightly without thinking of what we are doing, by a sort of directness of purpose that is inexplicable to those who have no experience of it. To some we may appear less simple than those who have a more grave and practiced manner; but these are people of bad taste, who take the affectation of modesty for modesty it-

self, and who have no knowledge of true simplicity. This true simplicity has sometimes a careless and irregular appearance, but it has the charm of truth and candor, and sheds around it I know not what of purity and innocence, of cheerfulness and peace; a loveliness that wins us when we see it intimately and with pure eyes.

How desirable is this simplicity! who will give it to me? I will quit all else to obtain it, for it is the pearl of great price.

NATURE AS A REVELATION

A SERMON ON THE PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD DRAWN FROM A VIEW OF NATURE AND THE MIND OF MAN

I CANNOT open my eyes without admiring the skill that everything in nature displays. A single glance enables me to perceive the hand that has made all things. Men accustomed to meditate upon abstract truths, and recur to first principles, recognize the Divinity, by the idea of him they find in their minds. But the more direct this road is, the more it is untrodden and neglected by common men, who follow their own imagination. It is so simple a demonstration, that from this very cause it escapes those minds incapable of a purely intellectual operation. And the more perfect this way of discovering the Supreme Being is, the fewer are the minds that can follow it. But there is another method less perfect, but more nearly adapted to the capacity of all. Those who exercise their reason the least, those who are most affected by their senses, may, at a single glance, discover him, who is represented in all his works. The wisdom and power

that God has manifested in everything he has made reflect the name as in a mirror of him whom they have not been able to discover in their own minds. This is a popular philosophy addressed to the senses, which every one, without prejudice or passion, is capable of acquiring.

A man whose heart is entirely engaged in some grand concern might pass many days in a room, attending to his affairs, without seeing either the proportions of the room, the ornaments on the chimney, or the pictures that surrounded him. All these objects would be before his eyes, but he would not see them, and they would make no impression upon him. Thus it is that men live. Everything presents God to them, but they do not see him. He was in the world and the world was made by him; and, nevertheless, the world has not known him. They pass their lives without perceiving this representation of the Deity, so completely do the fascinations of life obscure their vision. St. Augustine says that the wonders of the universe are lowered in our estimation by their repetition. Cicero says the same thing: "Forced to view the same things every day, the mind as well as the eye is accustomed to them. It does not admire or take any pains to discover the cause of events that it always observes to take place in just the same way; as if it were the novelty rather than the grandeur of a thing that should lead us to this investigation."

But all nature shows the infinite skill of its Author. I maintain that accident, that is to say a blind and fortuitous succession of events, could never have produced all we see. It is well to adduce here one of the celebrated comparisons of the ancients.

Who would believe that the "Iliad" of Homer was not

composed by the efforts of a great poet, but that the characters of the alphabet being thrown confusedly together, an accidental stroke had placed the letters precisely in such relative positions as to produce verses so full of harmony and variety, painting each object with all that was most noble, most graceful, and most touching in its features; in fine, making each person speak in character and with such spirit and nature? Let any one reason with as much subtlety as he may, he would persuade no man in his senses that the "Iliad" had no author but accident. Why, then, should a man possessing his reason believe with regard to the Universe, a work unquestionably more wonderful than the "Iliad," what his good sense will not allow him to believe of this poem?

Were any one to find in a desert a beautiful statue of marble, he would say: "Surely men have been here. I recognize the hand of the sculptor; I admire the delicacy with which he has proportioned the body, making it instinct with beauty, grace, majesty, tenderness, and life." What would this man reply were any one to say to him: "No; a sculptor did not make this statue. It is made, it is true, in the most exquisite taste, and according to the most perfect rules of symmetry; but it is accident that has produced it. Among all the pieces of marble, one has happened to take this form of itself. The rains and the winds detached it from the mountains; a violent storm placed it upright on this pedestal, that was already prepared and placed here of itself. It is an Apollo as perfect as that of Belvidere; it is a Venus equal to that of the Medici; it is a Hercules which matches the Farnese. You may believe that this figure walks, that it lives, that it thinks, that it is going to speak; but it owes nothing to

art, it is only a blind stroke of chance that has formed it so well and placed it here."

A traveller entering Saïde, which is the place that once was ancient Thebes, with its hundred gates, but is now a desert, would find there columns, pyramids, obelisks, and inscriptions in unknown characters. Would he say: "Men have never inhabited this place; the hand of man has never been employed here; it is chance that has formed these columns and placed them upon their pedestals, crowning them with capitals of such beautiful proportions; it is chance that has hewn these obelisks out of single stones, and that has engraved on them all these hieroglyphics"? Would he not say, on the contrary, with all the assurance of which the mind of man is capable: "These magnificent views are the remains of the majestic architecture that flourished in ancient Egypt"?

This is what our reason would proclaim at the first glance. It is the same when we first contemplate the universe. People perplex themselves with sophistry, and obscure their view of the simplest truths. But a glance is sufficient; such a work as this world could not have been made by chance. The bones, the tendons, the veins, the arteries, the nerves, the muscles, which compose the body of a single man, display more art and proportion than all the architecture of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians. The eye of the meanest animal surpasses the skill of all the artisans of the world. But before we proceed to the details of nature, fix your attention for a while upon the general structure of the universe. Cast your eyes upon the earth that supports us; raise them, then, to this immense vault of the heavens that surrounds us; these fathomless abysses of air and water, and these countless

stars that give us light. Who is it that has suspended this globe of earth? Who has laid its foundations? If it were harder, its bosom could not be laid open by man for cultivation. If it were less firm, it could not support the weight of his footsteps. From it proceed the most precious things. This earth, so mean and unformed, is transformed into thousands of beautiful objects that delight our eyes; in the course of one year it becomes branches, buds, leaves, flowers, fruits, and seeds, thus renewing its beautiful favors to man. Nothing exhausts it. After yielding for so many ages its treasures, it experiences no decay; it does not grow old; it still pours forth riches from its bosom. Generations of men have grown old and passed away, while every spring the earth has renewed its youth. If it were cultivated, it would nourish a hundred-fold more than it now does.

But the body of man that seems the *chef d'œuvre* of nature is not comparable to his soul. Whence comes it that beings so unlike are united in his composition? Whence comes it that the movements of the body give so promptly and so infallibly certain thoughts to the soul? How is it that the thoughts of the soul produce certain movements of the body? Whence comes it that this harmonious connection exists without interruptions for seventy or eighty years? Whence comes it that two beings possessing such different operations make a whole so perfect that some are tempted to believe that they are one and indivisible?

What hand has united these two extremes? Matter could not make an agreement with spirit, the spirit has no recollection of having made any compact with matter. Nevertheless, it is certain that it is dependent on the body, and that it cannot be freed from its power, unless it de-

stroys it by a violent death. This dependence is reciprocal. Nothing is more absolute than the empire of the soul over the body. The spirit wills, and every member of the body is instantly moved as if it were impelled by some powerful machine. What hand holding an equal power over both these natures has imposed this yoke upon them, and held them captive in a connection so nice and so inviolable? Can any one say, "Chance"? If they do, can they understand what they say themselves, and make others comprehend it? Has chance linked together by a concourse of atoms the particles of body with soul?

My alternative is this: If the soul and the body are only a composition of matter, whence is it that this matter, which did not think yesterday, begins to think to-day? Who is it that has given it, what it did not before possess, and what is incomparably more noble than itself, when it was without thought? Does not that which bestows thought possess it? Suppose even that thought proceeded from a certain configuration and arrangement and motion of matter, what workman contrived these just and nice combinations so as to make a thinking machine? If, on the contrary, the soul and the body are two distinct substances, what power superior to both these different natures has bound them together? Who, with a supreme empire over both, has sent forth his command, that they should be linked together by a correspondence and in a civil subjection that is incomprehensible?

The empire of the mind over the body is despotic to a certain extent, since simple will can move every member by mechanical rules. As the Scriptures represent God in the creation to have said: "Let there be light, and there was light," so the voice of my soul speaks and my body

obeys. This is the power which men who believe in God attribute to him over the universe.

This power of the soul over the body which is so absolute is at the same time a blind one. The most ignorant man moves his body as well as the best-instructed anatomist. The player on the flute who perfectly understands all the chords of his instrument, who sees it with his eyes and touches it with his fingers, often makes mistakes. But the soul that governs the mechanism of the human body can move every spring without seeing it, without understanding its figure, or situation, or strength, and never mistakes. How wonderful is this! My soul commands what it does not know, what it cannot see, and what it is incapable of knowing, and is infallibly obeyed! How great its ignorance and how great its power! The blindness is ours, but the power—whence is it? To whom shall we attribute it, if not to him who sees what man cannot see and gives him the power to perform what surpasses his own comprehension?

Let the universe be overthrown and annihilated, let there be no minds to reason upon these truths, they will still remain equally true, as the rays of the sun would be no less real if men should be blind and not see them. "In feeling assured," says St. Augustine, "that two and two make four, we are not only certain that we say what is true, but we have no doubt that this proposition has been always and will continue to be eternally true."

Let man then admire what he understands, and let him be silent when he cannot comprehend. There is nothing in the universe that does not equally bear these two opposite characters, the stamp of the Creator and the mark of the nothingness from whence it is drawn, and into which it may at any moment be resolved.

SERMON FOR THE FESTIVAL OF THE EPIPHANY, 1685

PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE AMBASSADORS OF SIAM

"Arise, shine O Jerusalem! for thy light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."— Isaiah lx, 1.

GOD be praised, my brethren, since to-day he has put his word in my mouth to extol the work which is accomplished by this mission! I have long desired to pour out my heart before its altars, and to glorify that grace which inspires these men filled with apostolic zeal for the enlightenment of the Orient. It is then with unbounded joy that I speak to-day of the calling of the Gentiles, in this house whence go forth the men from whom the rest of the Gentile world shall hear the glad tidings.

Hardly is Jesus, the expectation and the desire of the nations, born, when behold the Magi, worthy first-fruits of the Gentiles, led by the Star in the East, come to render him homage; soon from other nations come followers in crowds; idols are overthrown, and the knowledge of the true God flows in abundantly as the waters that cover the earth. I see the nations, I see the princes who through successive centuries adore him whom the Magi worshipped! Nations of the Orient, you will come in your turn, and the light to which that of the Star in the East was but a shadow will shine upon your darkness. Come then! Hasten to the house of the God of Jacob! O Holy Church! O Jerusalem! rejoice, break forth into singing! Thou who art barren, thou shalt have children innumerable in the uttermost parts of the earth. Lift up thine eyes and see; they gather themselves together;

the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, and the strength of the Gentiles shall come unto thee. Again wise men who have seen the Star of Christ in the East come from the farthest Indies to seek him. Arise, O Jerusalem; shine, for thy light is come!

I feel my heart stirred within me, but it is divided between joy and sorrow. The ministry of these zealous men and the calling of these nations is the triumph of religion, but may it not be also the precursor of an unknown judgment hanging over us? Perhaps it will be upon our ruin that these nations will be exalted as were the Gentiles upon that of the Jews at the birth of the Church. Let us, then, rejoice in the Lord, my brethren, but let us rejoice with trembling! These are the two thoughts which will fill this discourse.

O Spirit promised by the Truth itself to all who search for thee, may my heart have no other aspiration than to have thy presence within it; may my mouth remain mute if it be not to utter thy words. May my eyes be closed to all light save that from on high! O Holy Spirit, be thou all in all; within those who hear me intelligence, wisdom, perception; in me, force, unction, enlightenment! Ave Maria!

First. What, my brethren, is this Jerusalem of which the prophet speaks, this tranquil city whose gates are not shut day or night? She is so powerful that the kingdoms that will not serve her shall perish, and so blessed that she shall have no other sun than the Lord, who shall be her everlasting light? Who fails to see that it cannot be that Jerusalem rebuilt by the Jews brought back from Babylon; that city weak, unhappy, often in war, always in servitude under the Persians, the Greeks, or the Romans, and finally under these last reduced to ashes, with general dispersion of her children which still endures after sixteen centuries? It is, then, manifestly

outside the Jewish nation that one must look for the accomplishment of the promises it has forfeited. There is none other Jerusalem than that which is on high and is the mother of us all according to St. Paul; she comes down from heaven, and her children multiply upon the earth. How wonderful it is, my brethren, to see how the prophecies are fulfilled in her!

Such was the spirit of the Messiah that he was not obliged to subjugate by force of arms, as the Jews grossly claimed, but, what was infinitely nobler and more worthy the grandeur of the promises, he, under his reign of truth and love, drew to himself, by his power over the hearts of men, all the heathen.

By the birth of Jesus Christ the whole aspect of the world was changed! The law of Moses, his miracles, like those of the prophets, served only as a barrier against the floods of idolatry, and to preserve the worship of the true God among a people restricted within one small corner of the earth; but he who comes from on high is above all and it is reserved for the Christ to possess all the nations as a heritage. He does possess them! You see it! Since he was raised upon the cross he draws all to himself.

From the beginning of Christianity, St. Irenæus and Tertullian have shown that the Church was even then more extended than that empire which claimed to be the entire universe! The regions savage and well-nigh inaccessible of the north, upon which the sun scarcely shines, have seen the celestial light! The burning regions of Africa have been inundated by the outpourings of grace. Emperors themselves have become adorers of the name they blasphemed, and the foster-fathers of that Church whose blood they shed! But the power of the gospel has not been lessened since those early struggles; time is powerless against it; Jesus Christ, who

is its source, is for all time, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever! Thus I see the fruitfulness of the Church ever increasing, for the Cross never ceases to draw all to itself.

Look upon those barbarous hordes who caused the overthrow of the Roman empire! God permitted them to multiply, and held them in reserve under those frozen skies for the punishment of Rome, pagan, and drunken with the blood of the martyrs! He gave them free course, and the Roman world was overrun by them, but in overthrowing this empire they submitted themselves to that of the Saviour. All together, ministers of vengeance and objects of pity, they were led, without their knowledge, as by the hand, to meet the gospel, and of them it may be said that, literally, they found the God for whom they had not sought.

We see now how many nations the Church has brought to Christ since the eighth century, that time of her greatest misfortunes, when even her children revolted against her and were not ashamed to reproach her for her barrenness; but toward the tenth century, that century the woes of which are too much exaggerated, the nations came crowding within its fold, one with another: Germany, that ravening wolf become a lamb; Pomerania, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, brought to the apostles' feet by her first king, St. Stephen.

But what do I behold since the beginning of the fifteenth century? Immense regions opening all at once: a new world unknown to the old and larger. Take heed that you do not ascribe this extraordinary discovery to the enterprise of man, for God does not give to human beings, even when they seem to decide all, to be other than the instruments of his designs. Thus man acts, but God directs. The faith planted in America amid so much adversity ceases not there to bear fruit. What remains? Nations from the far Orient, your hour is come!

Alexander! that fleet conqueror whom Daniel depicted as not touching the earth with his feet, he was so anxious to subjugate the entire world! stopped long this side of you; but love goes farther than pride. Neither burning sands, nor the wilderness, nor mountains, nor the dangers of the sea, nor the rigors of climate, nor fleets of enemies, neither tempests nor savage shores, can arrest those whom God sends. Who are these that fly as the clouds? Winds bear them upon thy wings! How the South, how the Orient, how the isles of the sea wait for them and watch in silence their coming from afar off! How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings, that saith unto Zion, "Thy God reigneth!" Behold these new Conquerors who come with no other arms than the Cross of the Saviour! They come, not to carry away the riches and to shed the blood of the conquered; but to offer their own blood and to share with them heavenly treasure.

Nations who saw them come, what was at first your surprise, and who can describe it? These men who come to you from no motive of self-interest, neither of commerce nor ambition, nor of curiosity; these men who, without ever having seen you, without knowing even who you were, loved you tenderly, and came across the seas with so much of peril and weariness, to seek for, and to make you partakers of that life eternal which had been revealed to them! Nations shrouded in the darkness of death, may that light be upon your heads!

To whom, my brothers, do we owe this blessing and the glory of our day? To the Society of Jesus, which from its beginning opened, by the aid of Portugal, a new way for the gospel in India. From the memory of the just will never be effaced the name of the youth Ignatius, who, with the same hand with which he put from him the most brilliant worldly

position formed a little society of priests, the blessed germs of this Order.

Among the different kingdoms where faith takes different forms according to the diversities of nature, habits, and government, I descry one which is the highway of the gospel for the others. It is at Siam, where these men of God assemble together! It is there that a clergy is found composed of many nationalities speaking divers languages, from whom shall flow the words of life; it is there they begin to raise, even to the clouds, temples which shall resound with divine songs.

Great King, by whose power they are raised, why do you delay to fashion of your own heart the most fitting and most imposing of temples to the true God?[1]

Sagacious and attentive observers, who manifest perception so discriminating; faithful ministers, whom your king has sent from the land of the rising to that of the setting sun to behold Louis, tell him what your eyes have seen; this kingdom, enclosed, not by a simple wall, like that of China, but by a chain of fortified towns which make its frontiers inaccessible; of the power benignant and amicable that reigns within, but, above all, of that piety which seeks much more the sovereignty of God than that of man! Learn from our history, posterity the most remote, that natives of the Indies have come to place at the feet of Louis the treasures of the East in gratitude for the Gospel received through his efforts. Yet our history will not suffice! Heaven grant that one day among these people the fathers may say to their children when instructing them: "In times past, in a country favored by God, a king named Louis, more anxious to extend the dominion of Jesus Christ than his own, sent missionaries to the

[1] These words were addressed to the King of Siam, who had at that time shown himself favorably disposed to Christianity, and whose ambassadors were present at this discourse of Fénelon.

Indies, and thus we became Christians, and our ancestors journeyed from one end of the world to the other to behold the wisdom, the glory, and the piety of this man."

Under his protection, or rather, since it is displeasing to God that we put our trust elsewhere than in the Cross, that is, in the all-powerful name of Jesus Christ, bishops and priests go forth and preach the gospel to every creature! I hear the voice of St. Peter, who sends and who animates you! He lives, he speaks through his successor; his zeal and his authority never cease to strengthen his brethren! It is from his throne, that centre of Christian unity, that proceed the rays of faith, the purest and most life-giving, which pierce the darkness of the heaven world.

Behold, my brothers, what God has done in our day to silence the profane and impious! What other than Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, would have dared promise that after his crucifixion all nations should come to him and should believe in his name? Nearly seventeen centuries after his death his word still lives and bears fruit, even in the ends of the earth. By the fulfilment of a promise so unheard of and so all-embracing, Christ shows that he holds within his hands immortal the souls of all nations and of all time. Thus we make known the true Church to our erring brethren, as St. Augustine made it known to the various sects of his time! How glorious it is, my brothers, and how comforting to speak the same words and to give precisely the same attestations of the Church that this Father gave thirteen centuries ago! It is this city set upon a hill which is seen afar off by the nations of the earth; it is this kingdom of Jesus Christ that embraces all peoples; it is this Society, the most widely diffused, that alone has the glory of proclaiming Jesus Christ to the heathen; it is this Church that not only ought to be ever conspicuous

but always the most conspicuous and the most refulgent; for it is indispensable that there should be the greatest external authority that can exist among Christians in order to lead the simple-minded surely and without discussion to the truth; otherwise Providence would defeat itself; it would plunge the ignorant into the depths of the doubts and controversies of philosophy; it would have given the text of the Scriptures, manifestly subject to such divers interpretations, only to nourish pride and dissension. What would have become of those spirits so teachable by others, but distrustful of themselves, who would have been greatly disturbed at the thought of preferring their own interpretation to that of the assembly the most worthy of belief that here has ever been upon earth? What would have become of the lowly who would have feared much more, and with reason, lest they deceive themselves, than that they should be deceived by the Church.

It is on this account that God, in addition to the uninterrupted succession of priests naturally so fitted to transmit the truth from hand to hand through all these successive centuries, has granted fruitfulness so extended and so remarkable to the true Church, to distinguish it from all lesser organizations that languish obscure, unproductive, and restricted, in remote corners of the earth.

How dare they say, these new sects, that idolatry reigned everywhere before the Reformation? All nations having been given by the Father to his Son, Jesus Christ, has he lost his heritage? What hand more powerful than his own has taken it away from him? What then? Is his light extinguished in the universe? Perhaps, my brothers, you believe these my words; no, it is St. Augustine who speaks thus to the Donatists, and Manichæans, and, changing only the name, to the Protestants of our day.

This expansion of the Church, its increase in all parts of the world, this apostolic zeal that shines forth alone in our priests, and that which the modern sects have not undertaken to imitate, perplex the most famous defenders of heresy. I have read it in their latest works, they have not been able to dissimulate it. I have seen even persons the most intelligent and most upright of this party avow that this effulgence, despite all the craftiness with which they seek to obscure it, strikes them to the heart and draws them to us.

How grand is then this work which cheers the Church; that enlarges it; that repairs its losses; that fulfils so gloriously the promises; that makes God manifest to man; that shows Jesus Christ, according to his own word, ever living and reigning in the hearts of men, even in the midst of his enemies; that propagates his Church in all directions, to the end that all may hear him; that places in it this sign resplendent, that every eye may see, and by which the simple are assured that the truth is found in it. How grand is this work! But where are the workmen capable of carrying it on? Where are the hands qualified for the ingathering of the rich harvest with which the fields of the Orient are already white? It is true that France has never had more urgent need for herself than to-day! My brothers, unite your counsels and your forces to finish laying low this spreading tree of heresy whose branches defiantly rear themselves to the heavens, and which is already shaken to its deepest roots!

Second. How is it that the Jewish nation has failed to keep the covenant of its fathers?

For this reason. It has hardened its heart against heavenly grace, it has resisted the Holy Spirit, it has denied the messenger of God! Filled with the worldly ambition of its time, it rejected a redemption which, far from flattering its pride

and sensuality, would on the contrary have freed it from that pride and that sensuality. It is this that has closed hearts to the truth; it is this that has extinguished faith; it is for this reason that when came that light which shineth in darkness the darkness comprehended it not.

Has then the condemnation of this people made the promises of no avail? God forbid! The Almighty takes delight in showing that he alone is powerful. People who are of no nation, that is, scattered peoples who have never formed a part of either Church or State; these nations, who have lived sunken in idolatry, gather themselves together and become all at once a people well beloved. Meantime the Jews, deprived of the knowledge of God hitherto hereditary with them, enrich with their inheritance all the other nations. Thus God conveys the gift of the true faith according to his good pleasure and according to the mystery of his will.

That which caused the reproach of the Jews (we pronounce here our judgment anticipating that of God), that which caused their condemnation, will it not also be the occasion of our own?

Was this nation, when smitten by God, more worldly than we, more sunken in fleshly lust, more intoxicated with earthly passions, more blinded by its own folly, more filled with self-love, more devoid of the love of God? No, no, my brothers, their iniquities had not reached the height of our own.

The crime of crucifying Jesus Christ anew, Jesus Christ known, Jesus Christ tasted, Jesus Christ reigning among us; the crime of voluntarily trampling under foot our only offering of propitiation and blood of the covenant; is it not more enormous and more inexcusable than, without knowing him, to shed his blood as did the Jews?

But is this people the only one that God has destroyed?

Let us hasten to cite examples under the new law; they are still more appalling. Cast your eyes, my brothers, your eyes bathed in tears, over those vast regions where our faith once shone on high like the sun! What has become of the famous churches of Alexandria, of Antioch, of Jerusalem, of Constantinople, that had innumerable followers? There, for centuries, assembled those councils that stifled the darkest errors and gave utterance to those truths that will live forever, and there prevailed that holy discipline for which we sigh in vain. That land was sprinkled with the blood of the martyrs; it exhaled the odor of sanctity; the solitary places of its desert bloomed; but all is now laid waste on those mountains, flowing with milk and honey, where the hosts of Israel passed without fear.

What remains upon the coasts of Africa, where the Assembly of Bishops was as numerous as the Universal Council, and where the law of God waited its exposition from the mouth of Augustine? I see nothing save a land still smoking from the thunderbolts which God has hurled upon it.

But in the last century has not God's awful mandate for excision been heard throughout the land?

England, breaking asunder the sacred bonds of that unity which alone is able to link souls together, has been given over to her own devices. A portion of the Low Country, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, are also branches that the sword of the Avenger has lopped off and that no longer cling to the parent stem. The Church, it is true, repairs these losses; again children from across the sea are brought within its fold, drying the tears for those lost. But the Church has the promise of eternal life, while we, what have we, my brothers, save menacing portents which show us, at each step, the abyss opening beneath our feet. That the river of grace is ever flowing

is true, but not infrequently it turns aside from its course to water other shores, and leaves in its ancient channel only arid sands. The light of faith is never extinguished, I admit, but it is not fixed in any of the places which it illumines, and leaves behind it dreadful darkness for those who have had it in contempt, and sends forth its rays to purer eyes.

What has faith longer to do among a people corrupt even to the very root, who hear the name of the faithful only to defile and profane it. Slothful and unworthy Christians; by you is Christianity dishonored and held in contempt; by reason of you is the name of God blasphemed among the Gentiles; you, who are but a rock of offence at the door of God's house, causing those to stumble who come there searching for Jesus Christ.

What can remedy the evils of our churches and lift up the truth now trodden under foot in public places? Worldliness has broken down all barriers and overflows the land. All distinctions are confounded; ostentation calls itself good breeding; the silliest vanity, decorum; the thoughtless lead on the wise until these become like themselves; fashion, so ruinous by its inconsistency and by its capricious excess, is a tyrannical law to which all else is sacrificed; the last of duties to be considered is the paying of debts. Preachers dare not ask alms for the poor, seeing a crowd of creditors whose clamors rise to heaven. In this way justice silences charity, but justice itself is no longer heard. Rather than diminish those superfluous expenses, the just dues of creditors are refused. The simplicity, the modesty, the frugality, the unswerving probity exacted by our fathers; their sincerity and their decency pass for virtues harsh and unlovely in this material age. Under pretext of acquiring polish one becomes weakened by luxury and hardened against virtue and honor. There are created

each day and without limit fresh wants, to excuse the most odious vices. Poverty and luxury increase equally; every one is prodigal of his own wealth, and eager to possess that of his neighbor. Sin abounds; charity grows cold; the darkness gathers; unrighteousness prevails; in these days of blindness and iniquity even the elect would be seduced if that were possible. Light of the Gospel, which art to shine throughout the world, complete thy course!

O God! what do I see? Whither are we tending? The day of ruin is near, and the time of its coming is hastening! But let us adore in silence and with trembling the inscrutable wisdom of God!

Elect souls, fervent souls, make haste to seize hold upon the faith ready to escape from us! You know that ten just persons would have saved that accursed city Sodom, which the fire from heaven consumed! It is for you to lament without ceasing at the foot of the altar for those who lament not for themselves. Stand firm; be the buckler of Israel against the arrows of God's wrath; with the hand of innocence arrest the sword already raised.

O God, who sayest in thy Scriptures, "Even though a mother may forget her own child I will not forget thee," turn not thy face from us! May thy word pass to those kingdoms whither thou sendest it, but turn not away from thine ancient Church, whose hand thou hast guided in the planting of the faith among new peoples. Remember the throne of St. Peter, founded immovably according to thy promise. Remember the Church of France, mother of that in the Orient upon which thy grace shines. Remember this mission, which is thine; the laborers of which it is composed, their tears, their prayers, their toil!

For ourselves what shall my prayer be, O God? Remem-

ber our wretchedness and show compassion! Remember the blood of thy Son shed for us, which speaks for us, and in which alone we confide! Far from taking away from us, according to thy justice, the little faith which remains, increase it, purify it, make it active, that it may dispel our darkness, that it may stifle all our evil passions, that it may renew our understanding, until at last, after having believed here below, we shall see eternally in thy bosom him in whom we have trusted. Amen.

[Specially translated by Mary E. Adams.]

BELHAVEN

JOHN HAMILTON, second Lord Belhaven, a Scottish peer once famous as an orator, was born July 5, 1656. He was the son of Lord Presmenan and succeeded to the title of Belhaven in 1679. In the Scottish Parliament of 1681 he opposed the government policy and, indirectly, the Duke of York, then royal commissioner in Scotland. After the Revolution of 1688 he supported the cause of the Prince of Orange and was among those who helped to settle the Scottish crown upon William and Mary. From 1689 to 1705 he was a member of the Scottish Privy Council and in the Scottish Parliament of 1703 made a vigorous speech in favor of the Act of Security, which was at once printed for popular distribution. On the 2d of March, 1706, he denounced the proposed union between England and Scotland in the following famous speech. Belhaven and other opponents of the union of the two countries were imprisoned in Edinburgh, and, when suspected of favoring an attempted French invasion in 1708, were brought to London, where Belhaven died, June 21, 1708. He was a man of much learning, thoroughly familiar with the Scottish constitution, and a very able parliamentary speaker.

SPEECH AGAINST THE LEGISLATIVE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

[This speech, delivered in the Parliament of Scotland, November 2, 1706, embodies the feelings of a proud and jealous people, when called upon to surrender their national independence and submit to the authority of the British Parliament.]

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,—When I consider the affair of a union betwixt the two nations, as expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with a variety of melancholy thoughts; and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them by laying them before, and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honorable House.

I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that which all the world hath been fighting for since the

days of Nimrod; yea, that for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars; to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves without the assistance and counsel of any other.

I think I see a national church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and most pointed legal sanctions that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with Jews, Papists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other sectaries.

I think I see the noble and honorable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charges and expense, now devested of their followers and vassalages; and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals that I think I see a petty English exciseman receive more homage and respect than what was paid formerly to their *quondam* Mackalamores.

I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the Court of Requests, like so many English attorneys; laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

I think I see the honorable estate of barons, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips and a guard upon their tongues lest they may be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, a speaking evil of dignities.

I think I see the royal state of burghers walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments,

wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become prentices to their unkind neighbors; and yet, after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies and secured by preseriptions that they despair of any success therein.

I think I see our learned judges laying aside their pratiques and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with certioraris, nisi priuses, writs of error, verdicts, injunctions, demurs, etc., and frightened with appeals and avocations, because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with.

I think I see the valiant and gallant soldiery either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as a reward of their honorable exploits; while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest English corps kept standing.

I think I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactures, and answered by counter petitions.

In short, I think I see the laborious plowman, with his corn spoiling upon his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth, dreading the expense of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry or do worse.

I think I see the incurable difficulties of the landed men, fettered under the golden chain of "equivalents," their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employment.

I think I see our mariners delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners, and what through presses and necessity, earning their bread as underlings in the royal English navy!

But above all, my lord, I think I see our ancient mother, Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garments, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an *et tu quoque mi fili!*

Are not these, my lord, very afflicting thoughts? And yet they are but the least part suggested to me by these dishonorable articles. Should not the consideration of these things vivify these dry bones of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valor and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the English cabbage-stalk and cauliflowers that we should show the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded, are our ears so deafened, are our hearts so hardened, are our tongues so faltered, are our hands so fettered, that in this our day — I say, my lord, in this *our* day — we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well-being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes?

No, my lord, God forbid! Man's extremity is God's opportunity: he is a present help in time of need — a deliverer, and that right early! Some unforeseen providence will fall out, that may cast the balance; some Joseph or other will say, "Why do ye strive together, since ye are brethren?" None can destroy Scotland save Scotland's self. Hold your hands from the pen, and you are secure! There will be a Jehovah-Jireh; and some ram will be caught in the thicket when the bloody knife is at our mother's throat. Let us, then, my lord, and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come.

I design not at this time to enter into the merits of any one particular article. I intend this discourse as an intro-

duction to what I may afterward say upon the whole debate, as it falls in before this honorable House; and therefore, in the further prosecution of what I have to say, I shall insist upon a few particulars very necessary to be understood before we enter into the detail of so important a matter.

I shall therefore, in the first place, endeavor to encourage a free and full deliberation without animosities and heats. In the next place I shall endeavor to make an inquiry into the nature and source of the unnatural and dangerous divisions that are now on foot within this isle, with some motives showing that it is our interest to lay them aside at this time. And all this with all deference and under the correction of this honorable House.

My lord chancellor, the greatest honor that was done unto a Roman was to allow him the glory of a triumph; the greatest and most dishonorable punishment was that of parricide. He that was guilty of parricide was beaten with rods upon his naked body till the blood gushed out of all the veins of his body; then he was sewed up in a leathern sack called a culeus, with a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown headlong into the sea.

My lord, patricide is a greater crime than parricide, all the world over.

In a triumph, my lord, when the conqueror was riding in his triumphal chariot, crowned with laurels, adorned with trophies, and applauded with huzzas, there was a monitor appointed to stand behind him, to warn him not to be high-minded, nor puffed up with overweening thoughts of himself; and to his chariot were tied a whip and a bell, to remind him that, notwithstanding all his glory and grandeur, he was accountable to the people for his administration, and would be punished as other men if found guilty.

The greatest honor among us, my lord, is to represent the sovereign's sacred person [as High Commissioner] in Parliament; and in one particular it appears to be greater than that of a triumph, because the whole legislative power seems to be entrusted with him. If he give the royal assent to an act of the estates, it becomes a law obligatory upon the subject, though contrary to or without any instructions from the sovereign. If he refuse the royal assent to a vote in Parliament, it cannot be a law, though he has the sovereign's particular and positive instructions for it.

His Grace the Duke of Queensbury, who now represents her Majesty in this session of Parliament, hath had the honor of that great trust as often, if not more, than any Scotchman ever had. He hath been the favorite of two successive sovereigns; and I cannot but commend his constancy and perseverance, that, notwithstanding his former difficulties and unsuccessful attempts, and maugre some other specialties not yet determined, his Grace has yet had the resolution to undertake the most unpopular measure last. If his Grace succeed in this affair of a union, and that it prove for the happiness and welfare of the nation, then he justly merits to have a statue of gold erected for himself; but if it shall tend to the entire destruction and abolition of our nation, and that we, the nation's trustees, shall go into it, then I must say that a whip and a bell, a cock, a viper, and an ape, are but too small punishments for any such bold, unnatural undertaking and complaisance.

I. That I may pave the way, my lord, to a full, calm, and free reasoning upon this affair, which is of the last consequence unto this nation, I shall mind this honorable House that we are the successors of those noble ancestors who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, amended, altered, and corrected

them from time to time, as the affairs and circumstances of the nation did require, without the assistance or advice of any foreign power or potentate; and who, during the time of two thousand years, have handed them down to us, a free, independent nation, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall not we, then, argue for that which our progenitors have purchased for us at so dear a rate and with so much immortal honor and glory? God forbid. Shall the hazard of a father unbind the ligaments of a dumb son's tongue, and shall we hold our peace when our *patria*, our country, is in danger? I say this, my lord, that I may encourage every individual member of this House to speak his mind freely. There are many wise and prudent men among us who think it not worth their while to open their mouths; there are others, who can speak very well and to good purpose, who shelter themselves under the shameful cloak of silence from a fear of the frowns of great men and parties. I have observed, my lord, by my experience, the greatest number of speakers in the most trivial affairs; and it will always prove so, while we come not to the right understanding of the oath *de fideli*, whereby we are bound not only to give our vote, but our faithful advice in Parliament, as we should answer to God. And in our ancient laws the representatives of the honorable barons and the royal boroughs are termed "spokesmen." It lies upon your lordships, therefore, particularly to take notice of such whose modesty makes them bashful to speak. Therefore I shall leave it upon you, and conclude this point with a very memorable saying of an honest private gentleman to a great queen, upon occasion of a state project, contrived by an able statesman and the favorite to a great king, against a peaceful, obedient people, because of the diversity of their laws and constitutions: "If at this time thou hold thy peace,

salvation shall come to the people from another place; but thou and thy house shall perish." I leave the application to each particular member of this House.

II. My lord, I come now to consider our divisions. We are under the happy reign, blessed be God, of the best of queens, who has no evil design against the meanest of her subjects; who loves all her people, and is equally beloved by them again; and yet, that under the happy influence of our most excellent Queen, there should be such divisions and factions, more dangerous and threatening to her dominions than if we were under an arbitrary government, is most strange and unaccountable. Under an arbitrary prince all are willing to serve, because all are under a necessity to obey whether they will or not. He chooses, therefore, whom he will, without respect to either parties or factions; and if he think fit to take the advice of his councils or Parliaments, every man speaks his mind freely, and the prince receives the faithful advice of his people without the mixture of self-designs. If he prove a good prince, the government is easy; if bad, either death or a revolution brings a deliverance: whereas here, my lord, there appears no end of our misery, if not prevented in time. Factions are now become independent, and have got footing in councils, in Parliaments, in treaties, in armies, in incorporations, in families, among kindred; yea, man and wife are not free from their political jars.

It remains, therefore, my lord, that I inquire into the nature of these things; and since the names give us not the right idea of the thing, I am afraid I shall have difficulty to make myself well understood.

The names generally used to denote the factions are Whig and Tory; as obscure as that of Guelfs and Ghibellines; yea, my lord, they have different significations as they are applied

to factions in each kingdom. A Whig in England is a heterogeneous creature: in Scotland he is all of a piece. A Tory in England is all of a piece, and a statesman: in Scotland he is quite otherwise; an anti-courtier and anti-statesman.

A Whig in England appears to be somewhat like Nebuchadnezzar's image, of different metals, different classes, different principles, and different designs; yet, take them altogether, they are like a piece of some mixed drugget of different threads; some finer, some coarser, which, after all, make a comely appearance and an agreeable suit. Tory is like a piece of loyal home-made English cloth, the true staple of the nation, all of a thread; yet if we look narrowly into it we shall perceive a diversity of colors, which, according to the various situations and positions, make various appearances. Sometimes Tory is like the moon in its full, as appeared in the affair of the Bill of Occasional Conformity. Upon other occasions it appears to be under a cloud and as if it were eclipsed by a greater body, as it did in the design of calling over the illustrious Princess Sophia. However, by this we may see their designs are to outshoot Whig in his own bow.

Whig, in Scotland, is a true-blue Presbyterian, who, without considering time or power, will venture his all for the Kirk, but something less for the State. The greatest difficulty is how to describe a Scots Tory. Of old, when I knew them first, Tory was an honest-hearted, comradish fellow, who, provided he was maintained and protected in his benefices, titles, and dignities by the State, was the less anxious who had the government of the Church. But now, what he is since *jure divino* came in fashion, and that Christianity, and by consequence salvation, comes to depend upon episcopal ordination, I profess I know not what to make of him; only this I

must say for him, that he endeavors to do by opposition that which his brother in England endeavors by a more prudent and less scrupulous method.

Now, my lord, from these divisions there has got up a kind of aristocracy, something like the famous triumvirate at Rome. They are a kind of undertakers and pragmatic statesmen, who, finding their power and strength great, and answerable to their designs, will make bargains with our gracious sovereign; they will serve her faithfully, but upon their own terms; they must have their own instruments, their own measures. This man must be turned out, and that man put in, and then they will make her the most glorious queen in Europe.

Where will this end, my lord? Is not her Majesty in danger by such a method? Is not the monarchy in danger? Is not the nation's peace and tranquillity in danger? Will a change of parties make the nation more happy? No, my lord. The seed is sown that is like to afford us a perpetual increase. It is not an annual herb, it takes deep root; it seeds and breeds; and, if not timely prevented by her Majesty's royal endeavors, will split the whole island in two.

III. My lord, I think, considering our present circumstances at this time, the Almighty God has reserved this great work for us. We may bruise this hydra of division and crush this cockatrice's egg. Our neighbors in England are not yet fitted for any such thing; they are not under the afflicting hand of Providence, as we are. Their circumstances are great and glorious; their treaties are prudently managed, both at home and abroad; their generals brave and valorous; their armies successful and victorious; their trophies and laurels memorable and surprising; their enemies subdued and routed, their strongholds besieged and taken. Sieges relieved, marshals killed and taken prisoners, provinces and kingdoms are

the results of their victories. Their royal navy is the terror of Europe; their trade and commerce extended through the universe, encircling the whole habitable world, and rendering their own capital city the emporium for the whole inhabitants of the earth. And which is yet more than all these things, the subjects freely bestowing their treasure upon their sovereign; and above all, these vast riches, the sinews of war, and without which all the glorious success had proved abortive, these treasures are managed with such faithfulness and nicety, that they answer seasonably all their demands, though at never so great a distance. Upon these considerations, my lord, how hard and difficult a thing will it prove to persuade our neighbors to a self-denying bill.

'Tis quite otherwise with us, my lord, as we are an obscure poor people, though formerly of better account, removed to a distant corner of the world, without name, and without alliances; our posts mean and precarious; so that I profess I don't think any one post in the kingdom worth the briguing [seeking] after, save that of being commissioner to a long session of a factious Scots Parliament, with an antedated commission, and that yet renders the rest of the ministers more miserable. What hinders us then, my lord, to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily together in our present circumstances, when our all is at stake. Hannibal, my lord, is at our gates — Hannibal is come within our gates — Hannibal is come the length of this table — he is at the foot of the throne. He will demolish the throne if we take not notice. He will seize upon these regalia. He will take them as our *spolia opima*, and whip us out of this house, never to return again.

For the love of God, then, my lord, for the safety and welfare of our ancient kingdom, whose sad circumstances I hope we shall yet convert into prosperity and happiness! We want

no means if we unite. God blessed the peace-makers. We want neither men, nor sufficiency of all manner of things necessary to make a nation happy. All depends upon management. *Concordia res parvæ crescunt* — small means increase by concord. I fear not these Articles, though they were ten times worse than they are, if we once cordially forgive one another, and that according to our proverb, Bygones be bygones, and fair play for time to come For my part, in the sight of God, and in the presence of this honorable House, I heartily forgive every man, and beg that they may do the same to me. And I do most humbly propose that his Grace my lord commissioner may appoint an *Agape*, may order a love-feast for this honorable House, that we may lay aside all self-designs, and, after our fasts and humiliations, may have a day of rejoicing and thankfulness; may eat our meat with gladness, and our bread with a merry heart. Then shall we sit each man under his own fig-tree, and the voice of the turtle shall be heard in our land, a bird famous for constancy and fidelity.

My lord, I shall pause here, and proceed no further in my discourse, till I see if his Grace my Lord Commissioner [Queensbury] will receive any humble proposals for removing misunderstandings among us and putting an end to our fatal divisions. Upon my honor, I have no other design, and I am content to beg the favor upon my bended knees.

[*No answer.*]

My Lord Chancellor, I am sorry that I must pursue the thread of my sad and melancholy story. What remains is more afflictive than what I have already said. Allow me, then, to make this meditation — that if our posterity, after we are all dead and gone, shall find themselves under an ill-made bargain, and shall have recourse to our records for the names of the managers who made that treaty by which they

have suffered so much, they will certainly exclaim, "Our nation must have been reduced to the last extremity at the time of this treaty! All our great chieftains, all our noble peers, who once defended the rights and liberties of the nation, must have been killed, and lying dead on the bed of honor, before the nation could ever condescend to such mean and contemptible terms! Where were the great men of the noble families — the Stewarts, Hamiltons, Grahams, Campbells, Johnstons, Murrays, Homes, Kers? Where were the two great officers of the Crown, the Constable and the Marischal of Scotland? Certainly all were extinguished, and now we are slaves forever!"

But the English records — how will they make their posterity reverence the names of those illustrious men who made that treaty, and forever brought under those fierce, warlike, and troublesome neighbors who had struggled so long for independency, shed the best blood of their nation, and reduced a considerable part of their country to become waste and desolate.

I see the English Constitution remaining firm — the same two Houses of Parliament; the same taxes, customs, and excise; the same trade in companies; the same municipal laws; while all ours are either subjected to new regulations or annihilated forever! And for what? Only that we may have the honor to pay their old debts; and may have some few persons present [in Parliament] as witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they are pleased to contract more!

Good God! What? Is this an entire surrender?

My lord, I find my heart so full of grief and indignation, that I must beg pardon not to finish the last part of my discourse; but pause that I may drop a tear as the prelude to so sad a story!

COLEPEPER

SIR JOHN COLEPEPER, or Culpeper, an English statesman, was the son of Sir John Colepeper of Sussex, but the date of his birth is unrecorded and very little is known of him before his appearance in Parliament in 1640 as one of the members for Kent. He there distinguished himself by a great speech against monopolies, took part in the proceedings against Strafford, and was among those who voted for the bill of attainder. He differed on religious questions from the popular party, and, definitely allying himself at last with the royalists, exercised much influence with the king in the management of military affairs. After the execution of Charles I he supported the cause of Prince Charles, his son, and went to Russia to obtain a loan in his behalf. During the Protectorate he lived in exile in Flanders, and after Cromwell's death he wrote from Flanders a since famous letter to Clarendon, outlining a policy which the government should pursue. He returned to England immediately after the Restoration and died there, June 11, 1660. He was extremely ready in debate and wise in council, but somewhat irresolute and changeable in action.

CONCERNING THE GRIEVANCES OF THE CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH

MR. SPEAKER,—I come not with a petition in my hand, I have one in my mouth, and have in charge from them that sent me humbly to present to the consideration of this house the great grievances of the county of Kent. I shall only sum them up; they are these:

The greater increase of Papists, caused by the remiss execution of those laws which are made to repress them; the life of our laws is execution, without which they become a dead letter; this is wanting and a great grievance.

The obtruding and countenancing of many divers new ceremonies in matters of religion, as the placing of the communion table otherwise, the bowing to it, or cringing at it, the refusing

of the holy sacrament to those that will not come up to the rails, these carry with them some scandal and much offence.

The third is the new canons; I assign this to be a grievance, first in respect of the matter, besides, etc., and the oath. Secondly, in respect of the makers, they were chosen to serve in Convocation, that falling with the Parliament, the same was altered, and the same men shuffled into a sacred synod.

3. In respect of the consequence within 4 this age was the 2d ill president, becomes a law, is full of danger, the clergy without confirmation by a Parliament have assumed power to make laws, to grant release under the name of benevolences, and to intermeddle with state affairs, our freeholds by suspensions, deprivations; this grievance is of much consequence.

4. The next is military charges, and 1, that of coat and conduct money required as a loan pressed, equally a grievance; the 2 is the enhancing the price of powder, whereby the train-band are much discouraged in their exercisings; howsoever this may appear, *prima facie*, yet upon due examination it will prove a great grievance.

5. The fifth is the more particular to our country, it is this: the last summer was twelvemonth, a thousand of our best arms were taken away from the owners, the compulsatory way was this, if you will not send your arms, you shalt go yourselves. Mr. Speaker, the train-band are militia, of a great strength and honor, without charges to the king, and deserve all due encouragements.

6. The next grievance is the heavy tax of ship-money; this cries aloud, I may say without offence, it strikes the very first-born of every family, I mean in our inheritance.

If the law give the king power in any case of danger of the kingdom, whereof he is judge, to impose what and when he

pleaseth, we owe all that is left to the goodness of the king, and not to the law. Mr. Speaker, this makes farmers faint, and the plow go heavily. The next is the great decay of clothing, of all our wools; these are the golden mines of England, which give us occasion to our great trades we drive with other nations; there are many stars which concur in this evil constellation; I will not now trouble you with any more than one case, which I dare affirm to be the greatest: 'tis the great custom of imposition laid upon our clothes and new drapery. I speak not this with an intent to lessen the king's revenue, so it may be done by a Parliament, I shall give my voice rather to more charge upon those superfluities, due regard being had to the trade which we import to other nations. Sure I am, the impositions upon native commodities are dangerous, and give liberty to our neighbors to undersell us, and I take it for a rule it is five times as much as the king receives, what is imposed upon our cloth, it is taken from the rent of our laws.

I have but one grievance more to offer to you, and this contains many: it is a nest of wasps, a swarm of vermin, which have overcropt the law, I mean the monopolies, the polers of the people; these like the frogs of Egypt have gotten possession in our dwellings, they sip in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit on our fire, we find them in our dye-fat, wash-bowl, and powdering-tub, they share with the butler in his box, they have marked and sealed us from head to foot, we may not buy our cloth without their brokerage; these are the leeches that have sucked the commonwealth, that it's almost become heretical.

Mr. Speaker, some of these are ashamed of their right name, they wear a vizard to hide the brand made by the good law of the last Parliament of King James, they shelter themselves under the name of the corporation, they make by-laws, which

serve their own turns, to fill their own purses, and squeeze us: unface these and they will prove as bad cards as any in the pack. These are not petty chapmen, but wholesalemen. Mr. Speaker, I have made known to you the cries of the country, I will tell you their hope, they look to heaven for a blessing upon this Parliament, they hang upon his Majesty's exemplary piety and great justice, which renders his cares open to the just complaints of his subjects, we have lately had a gracious assurance of it, they are in the wise conduct of this House; whereby the great affairs of this kingdom, and thereof our grievances no less important, may go hand in hand in preparation and resolution. Then by the blessing of God we shall return home with an olive branch in our mouths, and fully confirmed of those blessed privileges left us by our ancestors, and which we owe to our posterity; to which every free-born Englishman hath an equal right with the air he breathes in: these are our hopes, these are our prayers.

MATHER

COTTON MATHER, a famous New England divine of the colonial period, the son of the Rev. Increase Mather, was born in Boston February 12, 1663, and died there February 13, 1728. He was educated at Harvard University, and, after studying theology, was in 1684 ordained as his father's colleague in the pastorate of the North Church in Boston. He continued as colleague of his father until the latter's death in 1723, and sole pastor of the congregation until his own death. He was a man of great natural endowments, but pedantic and egotistic. He was a most prolific author, putting forth nearly four hundred works, great and small, chief among which is the noted "Magnalia Christi Americana," his best-known work. Among his other writings may be mentioned "Bonifacius, an Essay upon the Good That Is To Be Devised," an admirable work which Franklin declared had greatly influenced his own conduct; "Wonders of the Invisible World;" "Christian Philosopher;" "Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft" (1685); "The Armour of Christianity;" "Batteries upon the Kingdom of Evil;" "Death Made Easie and Happy;" "Psalterium Americanum" (1718); "Manductis ad Ministerium" (1726), the style of which is less disfigured by pedantry and affectations than is much of his older work.

SERMON: THE BOSTONIAN EBENEZER

DELIVERED FEBRUARY 7, 1698

"Then Samuel took a stone, and set it up, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."– 1 Sam. vii, 12.

REMARKABLE and memorable was the time when an army of terrible destroyers was coming against one of the chief towns in the land of Israel. God rescued the town from the irresistible fury and approach of those destroyers, by an immediate hand of heaven upon them. Upon that miraculous rescue of the town, and of the whole country, whose fate was much enwrapped in it, there followed that action of the prophet Samuel which is this day to be, with some imitation, repeated in the midst of thee, O Boston, thou helped of the Lord.

(1681)

The thankful servants of God have used sometimes to erect monuments of stone as durable tokens of their thankfulness to God for mercies received in the places thus distinguished. Jacob did so; Joshua did so; and Samuel did so; but they so did it as to keep clear of the transgression forbidden in Lev. xxvi, 1: "Ye shall not set up an image of stone in your land, for to bow down unto it."

The stone erected by Samuel with the name of Ebenezer, which is as much as to say, "a stone of help;" I know not whether anything might be writ upon it, but I am sure there is one thing to be now read upon it, by ourselves, in the text where we find it: namely, thus much, "That a people whom the God of heaven hath remarkably helped in their distresses ought greatly and gratefully to acknowledge what help of heaven they have received."

Now 'tis not my design to lay the scene of my discourse as far off as Bethcar, the place where Samuel set up his Ebenezer. I am immediately to transfer it into the heart of Boston, a place where the remarkable help received from heaven by the people does loudly call for an Ebenezer. And I do not ask you to change the name of the town into that of "Helpstone," as there is a town in England of that name, which may seem the English of Ebenezer; but my sermon shall be, this day, your Ebenezer, if you will with a favorable and a profitable attention entertain it. May the Lord Jesus Christ accept me, and assist me now to glorify him in the town where I drew my first sinful breath; a town whereto I am under great obligations for the precious opportunities to glorify him, which I have quietly and publicly enjoyed therein for near eighteen years together. "O, my Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me this once, to speak from thee unto thy people!"

And now, sirs, that I may set up an Ebenezer among you, there are these things to be inculcated.

Let us thankfully, and agreeably, and particularly acknowledge what help we have received from the God of heaven in the years that have rolled over us. While the blessed apostle Paul was, as it should seem, yet short of being threescore years old, how affectionately did he set up an Ebenezer with an acknowledgment in Acts xxvi, 22: "Having obtained help of God, I continue to this day!" Our town is now threescore and eight years old; and certainly 'tis time for us, with all possible affection, to set up our Ebenezer, saying, "Having obtained help from God, the town is continued until almost the age of man is passed over it!" The town hath indeed three elder sisters in this colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her mother, Old Boston, in England also; yea, within a few years after the first settlement it grew to be the metropolis of the whole English America. Little was this expected by them that first settled the town, when for a while Boston was proverbially called "Lost-town," for the mean and sad circumstances of it. But, O Boston! it is because thou hast obtained help from God, even from the Lord Jesus Christ, who for the sake of his gospel, preached and once prized here, undertook thy patronage. When the world and the church of God had seen twenty-six generations, a psalm was composed, wherein that note occurs with twenty-six repetitions: "His mercy endureth forever." Truly there has not one year passed over this town, *ab urbe condita*, upon the story whereof we might not make that note our Ebenezer: "His mercy endureth forever." It has been a town of great experiences. There have been several years wherein the terrible famine hath terribly stared the town in the face; we have been brought sometimes unto the last meal in the barrel; we

have cried out with the disciples, " We have not loaves enough to feed a tenth part of us! " but the feared famine has always been kept off; always we have had seasonable and sufficient supplies after a surprising manner sent in unto us. Let the three last years in this thing most eminently proclaim the goodness of our heavenly Shepherd and Feeder. This has been the help of our God; because " his mercy endureth forever! " The angels of death have often shot the arrows of death into the midst of the town; the smallpox has especially four times been a great plague upon us: how often have there been bills desiring prayers for more than an hundred sick on one day in one of our assemblies? in one twelvemonth about one thousand of our neighbors have one way or other been carried unto their long home: and yet we are, after all, many more than seven thousand souls of us at this hour living on the spot. Why is not a " Lord, have mercy upon us " written on the doors of our abandoned habitations? This hath been the help of our God, because " his mercy endureth forever." Never was any town under the cope of heaven more liable to be laid in ashes, either through the carelessness or through the wickedness of them that sleep in it. That such a combustible heap of contiguous houses yet stands, it may be called a standing miracle; it is not because " the watchman keeps the city; " perhaps there may be too much cause of reflection in that thing, and of inspection too; no, " it is from thy watchful protection, O thou keeper of *Boston*, who neither slumbers nor sleeps." Ten times has the fire made notable ruins among us, and our " good servant " been almost our " master; " but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt. I suppose that many more than a thousand houses are to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favors of God. Whence this preservation? This hath been the help of

our God; because "his mercy endureth forever!" But if ever this town saw a year of salvations, transcendently such was the last year unto us. A formidable French squadron hath not shot one bomb into the midst of thee, O thou *munition of rocks!* our streets have not run with blood and gore, and horrible devouring flames have not raged upon our substance: those are ignorant, and unthinking, and unthankful men who do not own that we have narrowly escaped as dreadful things as Carthagena or Newfoundland have suffered. I am sure our more considerate friends beyond sea were very suspicious, and well-nigh despairing, that victorious enemies had swallowed up the town. But "thy soul has escaped, O *Boston,* as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers." Or, if you will be insensible of this, ye vain men, yet be sensible that an English squadron hath not brought among us the tremendous pestilence under which a neighboring plantation hath undergone prodigious desolations. Boston, 'tis a marvellous thing a plague has not laid thee desolate! Our deliverance from our friends has been as full of astonishing mercy as our deliverance from our foes. We read of a certain city in Isaiah xix, 18, called, "The city of destruction." Why so? some say, because delivered from destruction. If that be so, then hast thou been a city of destruction: or I will rather say, a city of salvation: and this by the help of God; because "his mercy endureth forever." Shall I go on? I will. We have not had the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, like many other places. But yet all this while "our eyes have seen our teachers." Here are several "golden candlesticks" in the town. "Shining and burning lights" have illuminated them. There are gone to shine in an higher orb seven divines that were once the stars of this town, in the pastoral charge of it; besides many others that for some years gave us transient

influences. Churches flourishing with much love, and peace, and many "comforts of the Holy Spirit," have hitherto been our greatest glory. I wish that some sad eclipse do not come ere long upon this glory! The dispensations of the gospel were never enjoyed by any town with more liberty and purity for so long a while together. Our opportunities to draw near unto the Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances cannot be paralelled. Boston, thou hast been lifted up to heaven; there is not a town upon earth which, on some accounts, has more to answer for. Such, oh, such has been our help from our God, because "his mercy endureth forever."

Let us acknowledge whose help it is that we have received, and not "give the glory of our God unto another." Poorly helped had we been, I may tell you, if we had none but human help all this while to depend upon. The favors of our superiors we deny not; we forget not the instruments of our help. Nevertheless, this little outcast Zion shall, with my consent, engrave the name of no man upon her Ebenezer! It was well confessed in Ps. cviii, 12, "Vain is the help of man!" It was well counselled in Ps. cxlvi, 3, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help."

Wherefore, first, let God in our Lord Jesus Christ have the glory of bestowing on us all the help that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a servant of his, he cried out unto David, in 1 Chron. xii, 18, "Thy God helpeth thee." This is the voice of God from heaven to Boston this day, "Thy God hath helped thee: thou hast by thy sin destroyed thyself, but in thy God hath been thy help." A great man once, building an edifice, caused an inscription of this importance to be written on the gates of it: "Such a place planted me, such a place watered me, and Cæsar gave the increase." One that

passed by, with a witty sarcasm, wrote under it, *Hic Deus nihil fecit;* that is, "God, it seems, did nothing for this man." But the inscription upon our Ebenezer, owning what help this town hath had, shall say, "Our God hath done all that is done!" Say then, O helped Boston, say as in Ps. cxxi, 2, "My help is from the Lord which made heaven and earth." Say, as in Ps. xciv, 17, "Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had quickly dwelt in silence." And boldly say, "'Tis only because the Lord has been my helper, that earth and hell have never done all that they would unto me."

Let our Lord Jesus Christ be praised as our blessed helper! that stone which the foolish builders have refused, oh! set up that stone; even that high rock: set him on high in our praises and say that "that is our Ebenezer." 'Tis our Lord Jesus Christ who, in his infinite compassions for the town, hath said, as in Is. lxiii, 5, "I looked, and there was none to help; therefore my own arm hath brought salvation unto it." It is foretold concerning the idolatrous Roman Catholics that together with the Lord Jesus Christ they shall worship other *Mauzzim;* that is to say, other "protectors." Accordingly, all their towns ordinarily have singled out their protectors among the saints of heaven; such a saint is entitled unto the patronage of such a town among them, and such a saint for another: old Boston, by name, was but St. Botolph's town. Whereas thou, O Boston, shalt have but one protector in heaven, and that is our Lord Jesus Christ. Oh! rejoice in him alone, and say, "The Lord is my fortress and my deliverer!" There was a song once made for a town, which in its distresses had been helped wondrously; and the first clause in that song (you have it in Is. xxvi, 1) may be so rendered: "We have a strong town; salvation [or Jesus the Lord, whose name hath salvation in it] will appoint walls and bulwarks."

Truly what help we have had we will sing, " 'Tis our Jesus that hath appointed them." The old pagan towns were sometimes mighty solicitous to conceal the name of the particular god that they counted their protector, *ne ab hostibus evocatus, alio commigraret.*[1] But I shall be far from doing my town any damage by publishing the name of its protector; no, let all mankind know that the name of our protector is Jesus Christ: for " among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord: nor is any help like unto thine: and there is no rock like to our God." . . .

Wherefore, O our beloved people, I beseech you leave off, leave off to throw stones at your Ebenezers. Instead of that, pray for us, and " strive together with us in your prayers to God for us." Then with the help of Christ we'll promise you we will set ourselves to observe what special truths may be most needful to be inculcated upon you, and we will inculcate them. We will set ourselves to observe the temptations that beset you, the afflictions that assault you, and the duties that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate ourselves unto them. We will set ourselves to observe what souls among you do call for our more particular addresses, and we will address them faithfully, and even travail in birth for them. Nor will we give over praying, and fasting, and crying to our great Lord for you until you die. Whatever other helpers the town enjoys, they shall have that convenience in Ezra v, 2, " With them were the prophets of God, helping them." Well, then, let the rest of our worthy helpers lend an helping hand for the promoting of those things wherein the weel of the town is wrapped up! When the Jews thought that a defiling thing was breaking in among them, in Acts xxi, 28, " They cried

[1] Lest, beguiled by the prayers and offerings of the enemy, he should take up a residence elsewhere.

out, 'Men of Israel, help!'" Truly there is cause to make that cry, "Men of Boston, help!" for ignorance, and profaneness, and bad living, and the worst things in the world are breaking in upon us.

And now will the justices of the town set themselves to consider how they may help to suppress all growing vices among us?

Will the constables of the town set themselves to consider how they may help to prevent all evil orders among us?

There are some who have the eye of the town so much upon them, that the very name of "townsmen" is that by which they are distinguished. Sirs, will you also consider how to help the affairs of the town so as that all things may go well among us?

Moreover, may not schoolmasters do much to instil principles of religion and civility, as well as other points of good education, into the children of the town? Only let the town well encourage its well-deserving schoolmasters.

There are some officers; but, concerning all, there are these two things to be desired: First, it is to be desired that such officers as are chosen among us may be chosen in the fear of God. May none but pious and prudent men, and such as love the town, be chosen to serve it. And, secondly, it is to be desired that officers of several sorts would often come together for consultation. Each of the sorts by themselves, may they often come together to consult, "What shall we do to serve the town in those interests which are committed unto our charge?" Oh! what a deplorable thing will it be for persons to be entrusted with talents (your opportunities to serve the town are so many talents), and they never seriously consider, "What good shall I do with my talents in the place where God hath stationed me?"

And will the representatives of the town be considered among the rest as entrusted with some singular advantages for our help? The Lord give you understanding in all things!

God help the town to manifest all that piety which a town so helped of him is obliged unto! When the people of God had been carried by his help through their difficulties, they set up stones to keep in mind how he had helped them; and something was written on the stones: but what was written? See Josh. viii, 32, "Joshua wrote upon the stones a copy of the law." Truly upon those Ebenezers which we set up we should write the law of our God, and recognize the obligations which the help of our God has laid upon us to keep it.

We are a very unpardonable town if, after all the help which our God has given us, we do not ingenuously inquire, "What shall we render to the Lord for all his benefits?" Render! Oh! let us ourselves thus answer the inquiry: "Lord, we will render all possible and filial obedience unto thee, because hitherto thou hast helped us: only do thou also help us to render that obedience!" Mark what I say: if there be so much as one prayerless house in such a town as this, 'tis inexcusable! How inexcusable, then, will be all flagitious outrages? There was a town ('twas the town of Sodom!) that had been wonderfully saved out of the hands of their enemies. But after the help that God sent unto them the town went on to sin against God in very prodigious instances. At last a provoked God sent a fire upon the town that made it an eternal desolation. Ah, Boston, beware, beware, lest the sins of Sodom get footing in thee! And what were the sins of Sodom? We find in Ezek. xvi, 49, "Behold, this was the iniquity of Sodom: pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy;" there

was much oppression there. If you know of any scandalous disorders in the town, do all you can to suppress them and redress them; and let not those that send their sons hither from other parts of the world, for to be improved in virtue, have cause to complain, "that after they came to Boston, they lost what little virtue was before budding in them; that in Boston they grew more debauched and more malignant than ever they were before!"

It was noted concerning the famous town of Port Royal in Jamaica, which you know was the other day swallowed up in a stupendous earthquake, that just before the earthquake the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to fortune-tellers upon all occasions: much notice was taken of this impiety generally prevailing among the people: but none of those wretched fortune-tellers could foresee or forestall the direful catastrophe. I have heard that there are fortune-tellers in this town sometimes consulted by some of the sinful inhabitants. I wish the town could be made too hot for these dangerous transgressors. I am sure the preservation of the town from horrendous earthquakes is one thing that bespeaks our Ebenezers; 'tis from the merciful help of our God unto us. But beware, I beseech you, of those provoking evils that may expose us to a plague exceeding all that are in the catalogue of the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy.

Let me go on to say, What! shall there be bawdy-houses in such a town as this! It may be the neighbors, that could smoke them and rout them if they would, are loth to stir for fear of being reputed ill neighbors. But I say unto you, that you are ill neighbors because you do it not. All the neighbors are like to have their children and servants poisoned, and their dwellings laid in ashes, because you do it not.

And, oh! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable regulation. The town has an enormous number of them; will the haunters of those houses hear the counsels of heaven? For you that are the town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits of the "ordinary," 'twill certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary. I have seen certain taverns, where the pictures of horrible devourers were hanged out for the signs; and, thought I, 'twere well if such signs were not sometimes too significant: alas, men have their estates devoured, their names devoured, their hours devoured, and their very souls devoured, when they are so besotted that they are not in their element except they be tippling at such houses. When once a man is bewitched with the ordinary, what usually becomes of him? He is a gone man; and when he comes to die he will cry out, as many have done, "Ale-houses are hell-houses! ale-houses are hell-houses!"

But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. "Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day!" It is an honest, and a lawful, though it may not be a very desirable employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man, in 3 John 2, "Thy soul prospereth." Oh, let it not be said of you, since you are fallen into this employment, "Thy soul withereth!" It is thus with too many: especially when they that get a license perhaps to sell drink out of doors do stretch their license to sell within doors. Those private houses, when once a professor of the gospel comes to steal a living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into an abundance of wretched-

ness and confusion. But I pray God assist you that keep ordinaries, to keep the commandments of God in them.

There was an inn at Bethlehem where the Lord Jesus Christ was to be met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, "There is no room for him in the inn!" My friends, let me beg it of you, banish the unfruitful works of darkness from your houses, and then the sun of righteousness will shine upon them. Don't countenance drunkenness, revelling, and misspending of precious time in your houses; let none have the snares of death laid for them in your houses. You'll say, "I shall starve, then!" I say, "Better starve than sin:" but you shall not. It is the word of the Most High, "Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed." And is not peace of conscience, with a little, better than those riches that will shortly melt away, and then run like scalding metal down the very bowels of thy soul?

What shall I say more? There is one article of piety more to be recommended unto us all; and it is an article which all piety does exceedingly turn upon, that is, the sanctification of the Lord's Day. Some very judicious persons have observed that as "they sanctify the Lord's Day, remissly or carefully, just so their affairs usually prospered all the ensuing week." Sirs, you cannot more consult the prosperity of the town, in all its affairs, than by endeavoring that the Lord's Day may be exemplarily sanctified. When people about Jerusalem took too much liberty on the Sabbath, the ruler of the town contended with them, and said, "Ye bring wrath upon Israel, by profaning the Sabbath." I fear — I fear there are many among us, to whom it may be said, "Ye bring wrath upon Boston by profaning the Sabbath." And what wrath? Ah, Lord, prevent it! But there is an awful sentence in Jer.

xvii, 27: "If ye will not hearken unto me, to sanctify the Sabbath Day, then will I kindle a fire on the town, and it shall devour and shall not be quenched."

Finally, let the piety of the town manifest itself in a due regard unto the institutions of him whose help has hitherto been a shield unto us. Let the ark be in the town, and God will bless the town! I believe it may be found that in the mortal scourges of heaven which this town has felt there has been a discernible distinction of those that have come up to attend all the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in the communion of his churches. Though these have had, as 'tis fit they should, a share in the common deaths, yet the destroying angel has not had so great a proportion of these in his commission as he has had of others. Whether this be so or no, to uphold, and support, and attend the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in reforming churches, this will entitle the town to the help of heaven; for "upon the glory there shall be a defence!"

There were the victorious forces of Alexander, that in going backward and forward passed by Jerusalem without hurting it. Why so? Said the Lord in Zech. ix, 8, "I will encamp about my house, because of the army." If our God have an house here, he'll encamp about it. Nazianzen, a famous minister of the gospel, taking his farewell of Constantinople, an old man that had sat under his ministry cried out, "Oh! my father, don't you dare to go away: you'll carry the whole Trinity with you!" How much more may it be cried out, "If we lose or slight the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, we forego the help of all the Trinity with them!"

Extraordinary equity and charity, as well as piety, well becomes a town that hath been by the help of God so extra-

ordinarily signalized. A town marvellously helped by God has this foretold concerning it, in Is. i, 26, "Afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city." May the Ebenezers of this town render it a town of equity and a town of charity! Oh! there should be none but fair dealings in a town wherewith Heaven has dealt so favorably. Let us deal fairly in bargains; deal fairly in taxes; deal fairly in paying respects to such as have been benefactors unto the town. 'Tis but equity that they who have been old standers in the town, and both with person and estate served the town unto the utmost for many years together, should on all proper occasions be considered.

For charity — I may indeed speak it without flattery — this town has not many equals on the face of the earth. Our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven wrote unto the good people of a town in the lesser Asia (Rev. ii, 19), "I know thy works and charity." From that blessed Lord I may venture to bring that message unto the good people of this town; "the glorious Lord of heaven knows thy works, O Boston, and all thy charity." This is a poor town, and yet it may be said of the Bostonians, as it was of the Macedonians, "their deep poverty hath abounded unto the riches of their liberality." O ye bountiful people of God, all your daily bounties to the needy, all your subscriptions to send the bread of life abroad unto places that are perishing in wickedness, all your collections in your assemblies as often as they are called for; "all these alms are come up for a memorial before God!" The Lord Jesus Christ in heaven hath beheld your helpfulness, and readiness to every good work; and he hath requited it with his helpful Ebenezers.

It was said in Is. xxxii, 8, "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things he shall stand." There are some

in this town that are always devising liberal things, and our Lord Jesus Christ lets the town stand for the sake of those! Instead of exhorting you to augment your charity, I will rather utter an exhortation, or at least a supplication, that you may not abuse your charity by misapplying of it. I remember I have read that an inhabitant of the city Pisa being asked why their town so went, as it then did, unto decay?—he fetched a deep sigh, and said, "Our young men are too prodigal, our old men are too affectionate, and we have no punishment for those that spend their years in idleness." Ah! the last stroke of that complaint I must here sigh it over again. Idleness, alas! idleness increases in the town exceedingly; idleness, of which there never came any goodness! idleness, which is a "reproach to any people." We work hard all summer, and the drones count themselves wronged if they have it not in the winter divided among them. The poor that can't work are objects for your liberality. But the poor that can work and won't, the best liberality to them is to make them. I beseech you, sirs, to find out a method quickly, that the idle persons in the town may earn their bread; it were the best piece of charity that could be shown unto them, and equity unto us all. Our beggars do shamefully grow upon us, and such beggars, too, as our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath expressly forbidden us to countenance. I have read a printed sermon which was preached before "both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly of Divines," the greatest audience then in the world; and in that sermon the preacher had this passage: "I have lived in a country where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard." Shall I tell you where that Utopia was? 'Twas New England! But they that go from hence must now tell another story.

May the changes, and especially the judgments that have come upon the town, direct us what help to petition from the "God of our salvations." The Israelites had formerly seen dismal things, where they now set up their Ebenezer: the Philistines had no less than twice beaten them there, and there taken from them the Ark of God. Now we are setting up our Ebenezer, let us a little call to mind some dismal things that we have seen; the Ebenezer will go up the better for it.

We read in 1 Sam. vi, 18, concerning "the great stone of Abel." Some say that Adam erected that stone as a grave-stone for his Abel, and wrote that epitaph upon it, "Here was poured out the blood of the righteous Abel." I know nothing of this; the names, I know, differ in the original; but as we may erect many a stone for an Ebenezer, so we may erect many a great stone of Abel, that is to say, we may write mourning and sorrow upon the condition of the town in various examples. Now from the stones of Abel we will a little gather what we should wish to write upon the stones of our Ebenezer.

What changes have we seen in point of religion! It was noted by Luther, he "could never see good order in the church last more than fifteen years together in the purity of it." Blessed be God, religion hath here flourished in the purity of it for more than fifteen years together. But certainly the power of godliness is now grievously decayed among us. As the prophet of old exclaimed, in Joel i, 2, "Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, ye inhabitants! has this been in your days?" Thus may I say, "Hear this, ye old men, that are the inhabitants of the town: can't you remember that in your days a prayerful, a watchful, a fruitful Christian, and a well-governed family, was a more common sight, than it is now in our days? Can't you remember that in your days those abominable things

did not show their heads that are now barefaced among us? Here then is a petition to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to remember whence we are fallen, and to repent, and to do the first works!"

Again, What changes have we seen in point of mortality? By mortality almost all the old race of our first planters here are carried off; the old stock is in a manner expired. We see the fulfilment of that word in Eccl. i, 4, "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh." It would be no unprofitable thing for you to pass over the several streets, and call to mind who lived here so many years ago? Why? In that place lived such an one. But where are they now? Oh! they are gone; they are gone into that eternal world, whither we must quickly follow them. Here is another petition to be made unto God: "Lord, help us to number our days, and apply our hearts unto wisdom, that when the places that now know us do know us no more, we may begone into the city of God!"

Furthermore, What changes have we seen in point of possessions? If some that are now rich were once low in the world, 'tis possible more that were once rich are now brought very low. Ah! Boston, thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses and seventy of thy warehouses in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in fiery characters. And an huge fleet of thy vessels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miscarried in the late war, has given thee to read more of it. Here is one petition more to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to ensure a better and a lasting substance in heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away."

In fine, how dreadfully have the young people of Boston

perished under the judgments of God! A renowned writer among the Pagans could make this remark: there was a town so irreligious and atheistical that they did not pay their first-fruits unto God; (which the light of nature taught the Pagans to do!) and, says he, they were by a sudden desolation so strangely destroyed that there were no remainders either of the persons or of the houses to be seen any more. Ah, my young folks, there are few first-fruits paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass that the consuming wrath of God is every day upon you. New England has been like a tottering house, the very foundations of it have been shaking; but the house thus oversetting by the whirlwinds of the wrath of God had been like Job's house: "It falls upon the young men, and they are dead!" The disasters on our young folks have been so multiplied that there are few parents among us but what will go with wounded hearts down unto their graves: their daily moans are, "Ah, my son, cut off in his youth! My son, my son!" Behold then the help that we are to ask of our God; and why do we, with no more days of prayer with fasting, ask it? "Lord, help the young people of Boston to remember thee in the days of their youth, and satisfy unto the survivors the terrible things that have come upon so many of that generation."

And now as Joshua, having reasoned with his people a little before he died, in Josh. xxiv, 26, 27, "took a great stone, and set it up, and said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God;" thus we have been this day setting up a stone, even an Ebenezer, among you; and I conclude, earnestly testifying unto you, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto you, that the Lord Jesus Christ has been a good Lord unto you, and if you seek him, he will be still found of you; but if you forsake him, he will cast you off forever.

MASSILLON

JEAN BAPTISTE MASSILLON was born at Myères on June 24, 1663. In 1681 he joined the Congregation of Oratory. In 1696, through the Cardinal de Noailles, he was introduced to the Parisian seminary of Saint Magloire. He preached before Louis XIV. for the first time in Advent, 1699. He made a profound impresssion, but received no preferment during the life of the king, who considered his views too liberal, and whom Massillon took no pains to flatter. The Regency was more favorable to him, and, in 1717, he was nominated to the See of Clermont, and was commissioned to preach the short Lent Sermons before Louis XV. In 1719 he was elected to the Academy. He preached for the last time in Paris in 1723, when he pronounced the funeral oration of the Duchess Dowager of Orleans. The remaining twenty years of his life were spent at Clermont, where he died on September 28, 1748.

THE CURSE OF A MALIGNANT TONGUE

THE tongue, says the Apostle James, is a devouring fire, a world of iniquity, an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. And behold what I would have applied to the tongue of the evil-speaker, had I undertaken to give you a just and natural idea of all the enormity of this vice; I would have said that the tongue of the slanderer is a devouring fire which tarnishes whatever it touches; which exercises its fury on the good grain, equally as on the chaff; on the profane, as on the sacred; which, wherever it passes, leaves only desolation and ruin; digs even into the bowels of the earth, and fixes itself on things the most hidden; turns into vile ashes what only a moment before had appeared to us so precious and brilliant;

(1700)

acts with more violence and danger than ever in the time when it was apparently smothered up and almost extinct; which blackens what it cannot consume, and sometimes sparkles and delights before it destroys. I would have told you that evil-speaking is an assemblage of iniquity; a secret pride, which discovers to us the mote in our brother's eye, but hides the beam which is in our own; a mean envy, which, hurt at the talents of prosperity of others, makes them the subject of its censures, and studies to dim the splendor of whatever outshines itself; a disguised hatred, which sheds, in its speeches, the hidden venom of the heart; an unworthy duplicity, which praises to the face and tears to pieces behind the back; a shameful levity, which has no command over itself or its words, and often sacrifices both fortune and comfort to the imprudence of an amusing conversation; a deliberate barbarity, which goes to pierce your absent brother; a scandal, where you become a subject of shame and sin to those who listen to you; an injustice, where you ravish from your brother what is dearest to him. I should have said that slander is a restless evil, which disturbs society, spreads dissension through cities and countries, disunites the strictest friendships; is the source of hatred and revenge; fills, wherever it enters, with disturbances and confusion, and everywhere is an enemy to peace, comfort, and Christian good-breeding. Lastly, I should have added that it is an evil full of deadly poison; whatever flows from it is infected and poisons whatever it approaches; that even its praises are empoisoned, its applauses malicious, its silence criminal, its gestures, motions, and looks have all their venom and spread it each in their way.

Behold, what in this discourse it would have been my duty, more at large, to have exposed to your view, had I now proposed only to paint to you the vileness of the vice, which I am now going to combat; but, as I have already said, these are only general invectives, which none apply to themselves. The more odious the vice is represented, the less do you perceive yourselves concerned in it; and though you acknowledge the principle, you make no use of it in the regulation of your manners; because, in these general paintings, we always find features which resemble us not. I wish, therefore, to confine myself at present to the single object of making you feel all the injustice of that description of slander which you think the more innocent; and, lest you should not feel yourself connected with what I shall say, I shall attack it only in the pretexts which you continually employ in its justification.

Now the first pretext which authorizes in the world almost all the defamations, and is the cause that our conversations are now continual censures upon our brethren, is the pretended insignificance of the vices we expose to view. We would not wish to tarnish a man of character or ruin his fortune by dishonoring him in the world; to stain the principles of a woman's conduct by entering into the essential points of it; that would be too infamous and mean: but upon a thousand faults which lead our judgment to believe them capable of all the rest; to inspire the minds of those who listen to us with a thousand suspicions which point out what we dare not say; to make satirical remarks which discover a mystery, where no person before had perceived the least intention of concealment; by poisonous interpretations to give an air of ridicule to manners which had hitherto escaped observation: to let everything, on certain points,

be clearly understood, while protesting that they are incapable themselves of cunning or deceit, is what the world makes little scruples of; and though the motives, the circumstances, and the effects of these discourses be highly criminal, yet gayety and liveliness excuse their malignity, to those who listen to us, and even conceal from ourselves their atrocity.

I say, in the first place, the motives. I know that it is, above all, by the innocency of the intention that they pretend to justify themselves; that you continually say that your design is not to tarnish the reputation of your brother, but innocently to divert yourselves with faults which do not dishonor him in the eyes of the world. You, my dear hearer, to divert yourself with his faults! But what is that cruel pleasure which carries sorrow and bitterness to the heart of your brother? Where is the innocency of an amusement whose source springs from vices which ought to inspire you with compassion and grief? If Jesus Christ forbids us in the Gospel to invigorate the languors of conversation by idle words, shall it be more permitted to you to enliven it by derisions and censures? If the law curses him who uncovers the nakedness of his relations, shall you who add raillery and insult to the discovery be more protected from that malediction? If whoever calls his brother fool be worthy, according to Jesus Christ, of eternal fire, shall he who renders him the contempt and laughing-stock of the profane assembly escape the same punishment? You, to amuse yourself with his faults? But does charity delight in evil? Is that rejoicing in the Lord, as commanded by the Apostle? If you love your brother as yourself, can you delight in what afflicts him? Ah! the Church formerly held in horror the exhibition of

gladiators, and denied that believers, brought up in the tenderness and benignity of Jesus Christ, could innocently feast their eyes with the blood and death of these unfortunate slaves, or form a harmless recreation of so inhuman a pleasure. But you renew more detestable shows to enliven your languor; you bring upon the stage not infamous wretches devoted to death, but members of Jesus Christ, your brethren; and there you entertain the spectators with wounds which you inflict on persons rendered sacred by baptism.

Is it then necessary that your brother should suffer, to amuse you? Can you find no delight in your conversations, unless his blood, as I may say, is furnished toward your iniquitous pleasures? Edify each other, says St. Paul, by words of peace and charity; relate the wonders of God toward the just, the history of his mercies to sinners; recall the virtues of those who, with the sign of faith, have preceded us; make an agreeable relaxation to yourselves, in reciting the pious examples of your brethren with whom you live; with a religious joy speak of the victories of faith, of the aggrandizement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of the establishment of the truth and the extinction of error, of the favors which Jesus Christ bestows on his Church, by raising up in it faithful pastors, enlightened members, and religious princes; animate yourselves to virtue by contemplating the little solidity of the world, the emptiness of pleasures, and the unhappiness of sinners, who yield themselves up to their unruly passions. Are these grand objects not worthy the delight of Christians? It was thus, however, that the first believers rejoiced in the Lord, and, from the sweets of their conversations, formed one of the most holy consolations to their temporal calamities. It is the

heart, my brethren, which decides upon our pleasures; a corrupted heart feels no delight but in what recalls to him the image of his vices; innocent delights are only suitable to virtue.

In effect, you excuse the malignity of your censures by the innocency of your intentions. But fathom the secret of your heart: Whence comes it that your sarcasms are always pointed to such an individual, and that you never amuse yourself with more wit, or more agreeably, than in recalling his faults? May it not proceed from a secret jealousy? Do not his talents, fortune, credit, station, or character, hurt you more than his faults? Would you find him so fit a subject for censure, had he fewer of those qualities which exalt him above you? Would you experience such pleasure in exposing his foibles, did not the world find qualities in him both valuable and praiseworthy? Would Saul have so often repeated with such pleasure that David was only the son of Jesse, had he not considered him as a rival, more deserving than himself of the empire? Whence comes it that the faults of all others find you more indulgent? That elsewhere you excuse everything, but here every circumstance comes empoisoned from your mouth? Go to the source, and examine if it is not some secret root of bitterness in your heart. And can you pretend to justify, by the innocency of the intention, discourses which flow from so corrupted a principle? You maintain that it is neither from hatred nor jealousy against your brother. I wish to believe it; but in your sarcasms may there not be motives, perhaps, still more shameful and mean? Is it not your wish to render yourself agreeable, by turning your brother into an object of contempt and ridicule? Do you not sacrifice his character to your fortune? Courts are always so filled

with these adulatory and sordidly interested satires on each other! The great are to be pitied whenever they yield themselves up to unwarrantable aversions. Vices are soon found out, even in that virtue itself which displeases them.

But, after all, you do not feel yourselves guilty, you say, of all these vile motives; and that it is merely through indiscretion and levity of speech, if it sometimes happens that you defame your brethren. But is it by that you can suppose yourself more innocent? Levity and indiscretion; that vice so unworthy of the gravity of a Christian, so distant from the seriousness and solidity of faith, and so often condemned in the Gospel, can it justify another vice? What matters it to the brother whom you stab whether it be done through indiscretion or malice? Does an arrow, unwittingly drawn, make a less dangerous or slighter wound than if sent on purpose? Is the deadly blow which you give to your brother more slight because it was lanced through imprudence and levity? And what signifies the innocency of the intention when the action is a crime? But, besides, is there no criminality in indiscretion with regard to the reputation of your brethren? In any case whatever can more circumspection and prudence be required? Are not all the duties of Christianity comprised in that of charity? Does not all religion, as I may say, consist in that? And to be incapable of attention and care, in a point so highly essential, is it not considering, as it were, all the rest as a sport? Ah! it is here he ought to put a guard of circumspection on his tongue, weigh every word, put them together in his heart, says the sage Ecclesiasticus, and let them ripen in his mouth. Do any of these inconsiderate speeches ever escape you against yourself? Do you ever fail in attention to what interests your honor

or glory? What indefatigable cares! what exertions and industry, to make them prosper! To what lengths we see you go, to increase your interest or to improve your fortune! If it ever happens that you take blame to yourself, it is always under circumstances which tend to your praise. You censure in yourself only faults which do you honor; and, in confessing your vices, you wish only to recapitulate your virtues. Self-love connects everything with yourself. Love your brother as you love yourself, and everything will recall you to him; you will be incapable of indiscretion where his interest is concerned, and will no longer need our instructions in respect to what you owe to his character and glory.

SERMON: SPIRIT OF THE MINISTRY

"And they brought him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord."—Luke ii, 22.

IT WAS written and ordained in the law, my brethren, that every first-born male among the Jews should be consecrated to the Lord and separated from his brethren; that he should be considered as holy; that the world should have no claim upon him; and that he should be presented to the Lord as the first fruit which God had reserved to himself alone, and which must be redeemed by another offering.

Jesus Christ, the first-born among his brethren, typified by the first-born of the Hebrews, in our text obeys this law and develops its figure and mystery. This consecration of Christ to God and his service is, in a sense, the model of ours. We are devoted to the altar; we are separated from the rest of

mankind, and dedicated to the particular service of God. Now the principal characteristic of this consecration is a separation from the world and its common concerns, that we may give up ourselves to the work of the ministry.

I acknowledge that the manners of the clergy ought to have nothing austere or rigid in them. Called by our office to urge sinners to repentance, it is necessary that we should, at times, be with them. Under the Jewish dispensation the sacerdotal tribe was spread and dispersed among the other tribes, to point out to us that it is necessary for the clergy to mingle occasionally with the people, and that our example is not the least of our duties. But it is not the charity which expands itself, which is active, which renders itself useful, and which edifies, that I wish to condemn; it is that love of the world which would lead us astray, dissipate us, render us unprofitable, and give offence; it is that violent inclination for worldly enjoyments which would call us from the holy duties of the sanctuary, render them disagreeable to us, and throw us into the tumult and dangers of the world; it is that unprofitable, worldly life which would lead us from dissipation to dissipation, connect us with the assemblies of sinners, with their maxims, their pursuits, and their pleasures; and which would lead on from what are called the decorums of life to amusements, from amusements to dangers, from dangers to vice. Now nothing is more incompatible with the gravity and holiness of our calling than a life thus devoted to the world. To prove this is my design in the ensuing discourse in which I shall attempt to show what is the Spirit of the Ministry.

The Spirit of the Ministry is a Spirit of Prayer,—of Mourning,—of Labor,—of Zeal,—of Knowledge,—of Piety.

A Spirit of Prayer.

Prayer is the ornament of the priesthood, the most essential duty of a minister, the soul of all his functions. Without prayer he is no longer of any use in the ministry — of any service to Christians. He plants, but God does not give the increase; he preaches, but his words are as sounding brass; he recites the praises of the Lord, but his heart does not join in them, and he honors God but with his lips. In one word, without prayer a minister is without soul and without life, all whose labors in the vineyard of the Lord are but like the mechanical movements of an inanimate machine. It is then prayer alone which constitutes the strength and the success of his different services; and he ceases to be acceptable to God or useful to man as soon as he ceases to pray. In prayer consists all his consolation; and his functions become to him like the yoke of a hireling — like hard, burdensome, and painful tasks, if prayer neither alleviates their burden, solaces their pains, nor consoles him for the little success attending them.

Now prayer supposes a pure spirit, a spirit free from those vain and dangerous images which pollute the soul or obscure its light; it supposes a mind replete with spiritual ideas and familiarized to meditation on divine truth — a mind which departs from its proper employment when it is necessary to turn its attention to the perplexing and unprofitable cares of the world, and which easily resumes, when again quitting these cares, the thought and the recollection of those eternal truths from which it had been diverted. Prayer supposes a tranquil heart, in which the most lively sentiment is that of holy love to God and gratitude for his mercies; a heart accustomed to spiritual enjoyments — timid, delicate, watchful, always guarded against sinful impressions, always attentive to abstain from everything which can abate its delightful

intercourse with the Lord. This is what the spirit of prayer requires. . . .

The Spirit of our Ministry is a Spirit of Mourning.

We are those ambassadors of peace, of whom the prophet speaks, who ought to weep bitterly, because the ways of righteousness lie waste; hardly any one walks in the way which conducts to life; the covenant has become unprofitable; and the Lord seems to have cast away his people. "The ambassadors of peace shall weep bitterly. The highways lie waste; the wayfaring man ceaseth; he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man." Yes, my brethren, we ought to be men of grief, and to mourn incessantly, between the porch and the altar, for the scandals which dishonor the Church, and expose it to the derision of the wicked.

Samuel, after the fall of Saul, retired and passed the rest of his days in lamenting the unhappy destiny of that prince. Jesus Christ, the chief shepherd and the model for others, seeing Jerusalem hardened in blindness and upon the point of ruin, wept over it; and he could not restrain his tears at the sight of Lazarus when dead, because in him he discovered the image of a soul spiritually dead. Our compassion should be excited by the miseries and vices of our fellow men; we ought to have the feelings of a mother toward them. Indeed, my brethren, whilst there are sinners upon earth, sorrow and mourning will be the lot of faithful ministers; whilst the children of Israel, in the plain, are engaged in dancing and feasting, whilst they forget the God of their fathers and prostitute their homage to a golden calf, the true Moseses, upon the mountains, will rend their garments, break their hearts before the Lord, and offer themselves to be accursed for their brethren. The world will rejoice, said Christ to

his apostles; the children of this world, dancing and uttering shouts of joy, will hasten to precipitate themselves into the abyss; laughter and play may be their portion; sadness should always be to you a spectacle of grief and lamentation; and though it should not persecute you, though crosses and gibbets should not await you, its corruption alone should cause you to pass your days in mourning and bitterness. "The world shall rejoice, and ye shall be sorrowful."

Now, can you unite this spirit of mourning with the vain cares and unprofitable amusements of the world? I ask you, what is the object of men of the world in all their occupations? Pleasure. You cannot therefore associate with such men without being either witnesses, or approvers, or accomplices of their pleasures. Though you should be but witnesses, can a minister of Christ familiarize his eyes to objects which ought to pierce his heart? Can he amuse himself with them? The primitive doctors of the church forbade Christians the sight of gladiators, believing that the disciples of the mild and charitable Jesus could not innocently feed their eyes with the blood and death of those unfortunate persons, and derive a cruel pleasure from a sight which ought to inspire them with horror and make them deplore the lot and the eternal ruin of those unhappy victims. Ye priests, pastors of souls, and co-workers with the love of Jesus Christ in their salvation, behold the sad objects from which you are not ashamed to derive amusement. With pleasure you see your fellow men perish, and mutually lend each other arms to hasten their death; you see them inflict mortal wounds; you see them devour one another with the most malignant arrows of scandal; and this sad carnage which you witness amuses you; and what you ought to lament with tears of blood makes you pass the most agreeable moments of your lives.

But you will not long remain simply spectators of these scenes; you will approve them. For to mingle among men of the world, for the purpose of being their continual censors, and of poisoning their pleasures by an air of chagrin and austerity, is unnatural; and it is not frequently their company which authorizes you to approve them. They will have a right to say to you, Why do you come among us? This is not your place. Why do you wish to be continual witnesses of what you think so worthy of blame? People do not very much hate that from which they cannot forbear; your departure from these places would be more becoming than your censures. Now, not to condemn them is to consent to their works of darkness; it is to approve of them.

But you will go still further; you will participate in them; you will at last appear yourselves upon the stage. For we cannot long refrain from following examples which are continually exhibited by those whom we choose as associates; we wish to be what others are; we soon grow weary of being singular. Thus, to-day, complaisance, to-morrow, some other pretence, and another time, inclination will lead you from one scene to another, till, having a long time familiarized yourselves with the sight of the abuses and disorders of the world, you will at last freely join in with them.

The people of God were not slow in imitating the manners of the Canaanites as soon as they had contracted leagues with them and established a familiar intercourse which Moses had forbidden. That taste which leads us to seek the world is already but a secret desire to imitate it; we are already disposed to live like the world when we cannot refrain from it; it is conformity of inclinations which generally forms intimacies; and people do not connect themselves with the world, but because they have the same taste with the world. The family

of Jacob in Egypt lived always separate from the Egyptians; they inhabited a land apart, because their customs had nothing in common with those of Egypt. The children of Israel offered animals in sacrifice to the Lord, and Egypt worshipped them. Their situation was typical of ours. We form a people apart, in the midst of the world, because we ought to sacrifice to God those passions of the flesh which the world adores. As soon as we break the barrier which separates us from the world — as soon as we leave this happy land of Goshen and go to mingle among idolaters, their worship becomes ours. Separation from them constitutes all our safety and maintains a diversity of manners; by mixing, we form but one people with them and become like them.

But, my brethren, were there nothing criminal in a worldly life, for the clergy, but unprofitableness and indolence, for that reason alone it ought to be interdicted to ministers, who are appointed to cultivate the field of the Lord; to watch incessantly for fear the enemy should sow tares in it; and to give their whole attention to those laborious functions to which they became engaged by their consecration to the service of God. This truth furnishes my third reflection.

The Spirit of our Ministry is a Spirit of Labor.

The church, of which we are ministers, is a vine, a field, a harvest, an edifice which is building and which should grow every day, a holy warfare; these are all terms which suppose care and fatigue, they are all symbols of labor and application. A minister is placed in the church, like the first man in the terrestrial paradise, "to dress it and to keep it." He is accountable for his time to the people of his charge. All, therefore, that he employs in vain and useless intercourse with others, except for necessary relaxation; all the days, all the moments which he suffers to be lost in the uselessness of

worldly society, in amusements and dissipation, are days and moments which ought to have been devoted to the salvation of his fellow men, and for which they will demand an account of him before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. By ordination he becomes a public minister; the people acquire a real right over his person, his leisure, his occupations, his talents. These are consecrated goods, which form, as it were, the patrimony of the people; he is but the depositary of them, and can no longer dispose of them according to his own inclination. As soon, then, as he abandons the employment connected with his office he proves himself unworthy of it; he ceases to be a minister from the moment that he ceases to be laborious; and he passes in indolence, or in vain amusements, always improper and often dangerous, that time which ought to be devoted to the salvation of his people.

Will you then, my brethren, pretend to be ministers of Christ and spend your time in indolence or vain amusements? What! whilst the chiefs of the people of God are contending with the enemies of his name; whilst so many holy ministers are devoting themselves to the most painful employments for the salvation of their people; whilst so many zealous servants of God, even when their health is wasted by years and fatigue, abate nothing in their labors and in their zeal, but even redouble their cares and vigilance in proportion as their strength decreases, and generously sacrifice themselves like the Apostle, to promote the cause of the Redeemer; whilst so many faithful missionaries are traversing dangerous seas, and seeking, in the most distant isles, either martyrdom, as the recompense of their zeal, or the salvation of heathen nations whom God seems to have abandoned; will you, who are honored with the same ministry, will you indolently languish in idleness, which is not only highly unbecoming your char-

acter, but which the world would deem shameful in any common member of the State? You, who are men of God upon the earth, interpreters of his will, his envoys among men, will you for your title, your employments, his interests, his glory and your own? And will you degrade yourselves by an empty and useless life, which would render you not only an opprobrium to the Church, but even the shame of civil society and an object of derision even in the eyes of men of the world? For, my brethren, among them every one has his calling; every one has duties and employments which occupy a part of his life; the magistrate, the soldier, the father of a family, the merchant, the mechanic,— they all have days, hours, and seasons devoted to the employments of their profession; the life of all these different sorts of citizens has occupations belonging to it. An indolent and worldly-minded priest is, therefore, the most useless and the most unoccupied man upon earth; he alone, all whose moments are so precious, whose duties are so serious and so numerous, whose cares ought to increase as the vices of men multiply,— he alone has no employment among men; passes his days in a continual void — in a circle of frivolous inutilities; and that life which ought to be the most occupied, the most loaded with duties, the most respected, becomes the most empty and the most despicable life that is seen in the world. . . .

Indeed, my brethren, whilst there are sinners to convert, ignorant people to instruct, weak in the faith to support, afflicted to console, oppressed to defend, and impious men and unbelievers to confound, can a priest find time for the pleasures and vanities of worldly society? Are we then made for an idle life? we who, with the closest application, are not sufficient for all our duties? Behold Jesus Christ, the chief shepherd, and the model of others, sitting upon the borders

of a well in Samaria. Notwithstanding his fatigue, he will not relax from doing the work for which he was sent; he will not abstain from his labors, even to give himself time for a sober and frugal repast. "My meat," said he to his disciples, who were urging him to eat, "is to do the will of my Father." He beholds the fields ripe and the harvest ready; and whilst his Father wants laborers, and the harvest is upon the point of being lost, he will not spend a moment in indolence, but improves this period in bringing back to the truth a woman who was a sinner. By this example let us estimate the value of our time and the use we ought to make of it.

It is related in the holy Scriptures, that Nehemiah, when occupied in rebuilding the temple, was solicited by the officers of the king of Persia to descend into the plains of Ono, to treat with them, and to celebrate the interview with feasting and rejoicing. "Come," said they to him, "let us meet together in some one of the villages of the plains of Ono." But that holy man, charged with a ministry so sacred, and believing it was not lawful for him to interrupt it by mere ceremony and complaisance, answered them, saying, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down; why should the work cease whilst I leave it and come down to you?" Now, is a minister of Christ, when occupied in repairing the spiritual edifice of the church — in raising a temple to the living God in the hearts of believers, is he engaged in an employment less holy and important? And what ought he to oppose to those who exert themselves to turn him from it under frivolous pretexts, and to engage him in the unprofitable and vain employments of the world, but that wise reply of the pious Jewish minister, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down, lest it should be neglected?" What more worthy of his ministry, and also more respectable in the eyes

of the world, than to refuse to be diverted, by the solicitations of men, from his holy employment? What more worthy than to prefer the work of God, that work so great, so sublime, so honorable, to the trifling and unprofitable occupations of the children of this world? — to respect his ministry and his functions?— to esteem everything which so uselessly occupies the men of the world as low and unworthy of his elevated calling and to believe that all the moments which he gives to the world without necessity are so many moments refused toward building the holy Jerusalem, and that by this means the accomplishment of the work of God upon the earth would be retarded? "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down, lest it should be neglected."

I am sensible that great zeal and firmness are necessary to enable us to break the bonds of flesh and blood; and to interdict ourselves almost all intercourse with a world with which we are connected by so many ties; and to which our own inclinations draw us. But this furnishes me with a fourth reflection, as a new proof of the truth of which I wish to convince you.

I say then, in the fourth place, that the Spirit of our Ministry is a Spirit of Zeal and Firmness.

It is our duty to exhort, to correct, to reprove, "in season and out of season." We ought to bear our testimony boldly against public sins and abuses. The face of a Christian minister ought not to blush for the ignominy which indulgences unbecoming his character never fail to produce; he bears, written upon his forehead, with much more majesty than the high priest of the law, "the doctrine and the truth;" he ought to know no one according to the flesh. He who, by the imposition of hands, has been set apart to the holy ministry, should manifest an heroic disposition which elevates him above his

own weakness, which infuses into him noble, great, generous sentiments, and such as are worthy his elevated calling,— which raises him above fears, hopes, reputation, and opprobrium, and above everything which influences the conduct of other men.

Now, this spirit of courage and firmness is very much opposed to the spirit of the world. For the spirit of the world is a temporizing spirit,— a spirit of politeness, complaisance, attentions, and management. To pass well with the world, a man must have no opinion of his own; he must think always with the greatest number, or at least with the most influential; he must have approbation always ready to bestow, and wait only for the moment when it will be most agreeable. It is necessary for him to be able to smile at impiety; to accustom his ears to the most severe and cruel strokes of slander; to give praise to ambition and a desire of preferment; and to suffer a preference to be given to natural above moral and spiritual talents. In fine, if we wish to live in the world, we must think or at least speak like the world; it will not do to carry thither an uncompliant, harsh spirit; for this a person would soon become an object of ridicule and contempt, and he himself would soon become disgusted with it. Thus we, who ought to be "the salt of the earth," must accommodate ourselves to the children of the world and "lose our savor;" we, who ought to be the censors of the world, must become its panegyrists; we, who ought to be "the light of the world," must perpetuate its blindness by our approbation or by our cowardice; in one word, we, who ought to be the instruments in the salvation of the world, must perish with the world.

Admitting that, when you first go to mingle with worldly scenes, you may intend not to be seduced from the path of duty; admitting that you at first possess sincerity, firmness,

and courage; you will soon deviate from them. Those ideas of zeal and firmness against vice with which you enter into the world will soon grow weaker; intimacy with the world will soon make them appear to you unsocial and erroneous; to them will succeed ideas more pleasant, more agreeable to man, more according to the common manner of thinking; what appeared zeal and duty you will regard as excessive and imprudent severity; and what appeared virtue and ministerial prudence you will consider as unnecessary singularity. Nothing enervates that firmness becoming the ministerial character like associating freely with men of the world.

We enter, by little and little, and without perceiving it ourselves, into their prejudices, and adopt the excuses and vain reasonings to which they have recourse to justify their errors; by associating with them we cease to think them so culpable; we even become almost apologists for their effeminacy, their idleness, their luxury, their ambition, their passions; we accustom ourselves, like the world, to give to those vices softer names; and what confirms us in this new system of conduct is, that it has the approbation of men of the world, who give to our cowardly compliance with their customs the specious names of moderation, greatness of mind, acquaintance with the world, a talent to render virtue amiable; and to the contrary conduct the odious names of littleness, superstition, excess, and severity, calculated only to drive people from virtue and to render piety either odious or contemptible.

Thus, from gratitude, we treat those in a friendly manner who bestow upon our cowardice the honor and homage due to firmness and zeal; we believe them more innocent, since they think us more amiable; we show more indulgence to their vices, since they metamorphose our vices into virtues. For how uncommon is it for people to be severe and troublesome

censors of their admirers? And how few are there like Barnabas and Saul, who, because they would not relax anything from the truth, were stoned by the very people who, but a moment before, were ready to offer incense to them as to gods descended upon earth?

A spirit of zeal is therefore incompatible with a frequent intercourse with the world; you will find less to reprove in proportion as you familiarize yourselves with what is reprehensible; attention to religious books will become a disagreeable and wearisome occupation to you; you will soon lose a taste for them; and in place of serious study and such as is adapted to your calling you will substitute vain and frivolous reading, if not such as is indecent and dangerous, because this will make you appear better in the view of men of the world. This leads me to observe, in the fifth place, that the Spirit of our Ministry is a Spirit of Knowledge.

"The lips of a priest," says the Spirit of God, "should keep knowledge." We are ordered, like the prophet, to devour the sacred volume of the law, notwithstanding the bitterness of laborious study; we must nourish ourselves with spiritual food by the sweat of our brow, and adorn our souls with the law of God as the Jewish priests did their garments. Ministers of religion are compared by an eminent Father to those two great luminaries which God at first placed in the firmament. They are to preside over the day and over the night: over the day, by guiding the faith and piety of believers; over the night, by enlightening the darkness of error, infidelity, and false doctrine. They are the interpreters of the law, the teachers of the people, the seers and prophets, appointed to enlighten their doubts or to make known to them the will of the Lord.

Now, judge whether it is possible to unite dissipation and

worldly manners with the conduct becoming such a great and dignified office. Knowledge is not to be considered as one of those rare gifts which God distributes to whom he will, and with which all are not favored; it is an essential — an absolutely necessary talent for the ministry. The Apostle, having enumerated the different gifts which God bestowed upon the rising churches, and remarked some were prophets, others had the gift of tongues, and others the power of healing diseases and working other miracles, adds that many were established as "pastors and teachers." He does not separate these two titles, because one is a necessary attendant upon the other.

Now, nothing is more fatal to a taste for useful knowledge than a familiar intercourse with the scenes of the world. Order, retirement, and recollection are necessary for study; continual dissipation and interruption relax the fervor of the mind and destroy all relish for close application. I do not mean simply that they prevent a person from undertaking profound studies, from searching into the obscurity of antiquity, concerning the doctrine and discipline of primitive Christians, and from enriching the church with new works; but for those common and ordinary studies which are indispensable for a Christian minister that he may instruct himself in his duty, acquaint himself with the truths which he is obliged to preach, and qualify himself to exercise his functions with understanding and with profit; for these there is a necessity of a mind accustomed to think — to meditate — to be with itself; it is necessary that too frequent attentions to the world do not render books insupportably wearisome and disgusting; there must be a certain desire of improvement and of acquiring instruction; a serious turn of mind, opposed to everything frivolous; a habit of retirement and reflection; a methodical arrangement of life, in which the moments destined

to different duties are always found in their place and conformed to their destination; in a word, a uniform, busy, regular kind of life, with which the inutilities, the perpetual changes, the derangement, and the confusion of a worldly life are entirely incompatible.

A love of books, my brethren, and particularly of books relating to your serious calling, will be your only safety; as soon as you no more can find anything in them to fix your attention, interest you, and fill up the void of your days, you will seek relief from the world; its scenes, its amusements will become necessary for you; you can no longer do without them; in vain will you propose to yourselves certain bounds and rules; in vain will you resolve to divide your time between your books and the world; you will soon pass wholly over to the side of the latter; and a taste for its scenes will increase — will strengthen itself in you every day; and in proportion as this increases, your taste for books, already so feeble and languishing, will fall and become wholly extinct; distaste will soon change into aversion; you can no longer support a single moment of application and serious reading; you will not even attempt to conquer yourselves with regard to this; and idleness, once become pleasing and familiar, will leave nothing serious in your lives and about your persons but some remains of the external symbols of your profession which will be only a reproach to you. Thus far will you be from possessing and preserving that piety which honors the ministry and sanctifies all its functions. This furnishes my last observation.

I say, then, in the last place, the Spirit of a Ministry is a Spirit of Piety.

By this spirit of piety I mean not only good morals, but that purity of heart, that tenderness of conscience, that taste for divine things, which simply the appearance of evil disturbs.

Such a spirit of piety is the soul of our ministry, and on this depends all its success. We are continually conversant with holy things: temples, altars, the holy mysteries, spiritual songs, the word of life; it is in the midst of these great, these divine objects, that we pass our days; all our occupations relate to objects in the view of which angels themselves tremble.

Now, my brethren, a serious consideration of these things could not fail to make the most pious distrustful of themselves, and sensible of their need of continual assistance from God. What a life of prayer, of retirement, of circumspection, of faith, of rigorous government of the passions, is necessary to prepare us for such services? A minister of religion ought not to indulge himself in anything which he cannot carry to the sanctuary,— anything which would be unbecoming in that place. He certainly ought not then to carry thither dispositions, affections, and desires which are common and worldly. It is necessary that the fire of divine love should purify his heart and raise it from a common to a holy and elevated state; in a word, as nothing is greater and more sublime than his functions, so nothing ought to be purer and more sublime than his piety.

Will you then think of going from an assembly of pleasure to the house of God? Will you go to invoke a blessing from God with the same mouth with which you have just pronounced vain and trifling words? Will you attempt to administer Christian ordinances with a mind filled with frivolous and indecent images? Instead of elevating your minds and hearts on high, will you suffer them to dwell upon the mean objects of the world,— upon objects unworthy of occupying the attention of a wise man at any time, and much more of diverting a minister of Christ from an attention to the sacred duties of his office?

But further, a worldly and dissipated life is inconsistent not only with that piety which we ought to possess when officiating at the holy altar, but also with that grave and edifying conduct which is necessary to prepare us for all the functions of the ministry, and without which we cannot expect success. If, my brethren, you associate freely with men of the world, with what propriety can you speak of avoiding the world,— of the dangers to which people are there exposed,— of the necessity of prayer, and recollection, and watchfulness,— of the eye which must be plucked out when it becomes an occasion of offence,— of the account which we must render for every idle word,— and of all those mortifying maxims so foreign from your manners and so unknown to the world? With what an air of coldness and dryness must you appear? The holy truths of salvation come but with regret and with an air of constraint from a mouth accustomed to frivolous and worldly conversation. To imitate the Apostle, in preaching Christ crucified with success, we must, like him, be attached to the cross of Christ; to affect the heart, there must be expressions which proceed from a heart that is itself affected. Without this you will be in the Christian pulpit like those mercenary declaimers who formerly made a parade of their eloquence, in the public schools of Rome and Athens, upon vague and indifferent subjects which interested neither the hearers nor the speakers; you will make of the ministry of the word a vain exercise of parade and ostentation,— a spectacle for the world, and not a serious instruction for sinners.

You will seek the applause of your hearers rather than their conversion, your own glory rather than of Jesus Christ, yourselves rather than the salvation of your fellow men. But though we should speak with an apparent zeal, though you should borrow the most lively and affecting

expressions of Christian eloquence, though you yourselves should appear to be moved, in what light do you suppose your hearers, who are acquainted with the dissipation of your manners and the perpetual uselessness of your lives, will view you? What will they think of you when they shall hear you lamenting sinful practices in which they know you indulge yourselves. Your lamentations will appear to them like the lamentations of the theatre; you will have played your part well, in their view; and all the holiness, and all the majesty, and all the terrors of the gospel will produce no effect upon them. . . .

Indeed, my brethren, it is impossible to preserve, in the midst of worldly scenes, the seriousness becoming our ministry. Success in our labors, therefore, depends on our leading retired lives and our not frequenting the company of the children of this world. By associating with such we shall accustom people to see us without respect and without attention. It is difficult to be always on our guard against ourselves; and the malignity of mankind will cause the smallest weakness which may escape us to be considered as a crime. There is nothing but loss for us in a familiar intercourse with men of the world: if we do not lose all regard for religion, we shall at least degrade our characters; if the world does not become our idol, we shall at least become its sport and contempt; if we do not imitate its manners and vices, we shall at least render our labors and our virtues useless.

These consequences of a worldly life may make you tremble; but they are inevitable; an intercourse with the world sooner or later leads to them. And besides, do you consider as nothing the stumbling-block which, by such a life, you will throw in the way of your fellow men, and the grief which you will occasion to good people? What! Shall you

be continually seen in the midst of the pleasures and vanities of the world, and will the world, in favor of you alone, not take offence at this? And will you not, by such conduct, greatly afflict your brethren who are faithful, and all those who are friends to the cause of truth and righteousness?

But our functions themselves, you will say, necessarily draw us into an intercourse with men of the world. True, but we shall rarely be there when we are there only on this account. When we have no object but to conduct souls to Christ, we shall show ourselves only to point out to them the way. The moment they have found it, and can do without us, we shall conceal ourselves, become eclipsed, and enter again into the darkness and safety of retirement. Like that star which conducted the Magi to Christ, and which was a type of pastors; it showed itself as far as Bethlehem, whither it was to conduct those sages of the East; but the moment they found, acknowledged, and adored the infant Saviour, it disappeared, became eclipsed, and entered again into the clouds of the firmament; its ministry was finished, and its appearance ceased with its ministry.

Therefore, my brethren, as you are now about to enter upon the public duties of the ministry, be on your guard against a taste for the world and its concerns. If you still cherish this fatal taste, be certain that this is a leaven which, if not destroyed, will one day corrupt the whole lump, and which will occasion your ruin. If this is so powerful that you despair of ever subjecting it to a sense of duty, take the world for your portion before a holy engagement shall oblige you to separate from it forever. Do not add to the dangers of a worldly life the crime of appearing there with a sacred character which ought wholly to remove you from it, its seductions will be dangerous, even if the calling to which you

may devote yourselves should make it your duty to appear there; judge then of the safety which you can promise yourselves if you associate with the world in opposition to the commands of God and against the rules of the holy profession which you have chosen. Amen.

[Translated by the Rev. Abel Flint.]

WALPOLE

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, Earl of Orford, a celebrated English prime minister, was born at Houghton, Norfolk, August 26, 1676. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge, and entered Parliament in 1701 as member for Castle Rising, and the next year as member for Lynn Regis. He rose rapidly into notice, becoming secretary of war in 1708 and treasurer of the navy in 1709. He placed himself among the leaders of the Whig Opposition during the impeachment of the famous Dr. Sacheverell in 1710, and on the overthrow of the Whig ministry was expelled from the House of Commons in January, 1712, and sent to the Tower, where he was confined for six months. On the accession of George I he became privy councillor and paymaster-general of the forces. After Bolingbroke and the Tory ministers were impeached by his means in 1715, he was made chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury, with the rank of prime minister. He resigned in 1717, but came again into power as prime minister in 1721, and practically ruled England until his resignation in 1742. In the latter year he was created Earl of Orford. He died at Houghton, March 10, 1745. Walpole's aim as prime minister was to keep England at peace and to establish sound principles of finance. He was the first premier after the Restoration who made a special study of finance and commerce, and to him may be attributed the foundations of free trade and the modern colonial policy. As an orator he did not attempt the higher flights of eloquence and in this respect resembled more nearly the orators of our own time.

ON A MOTION FOR ADDRESSING THE KING FOR HIS REMOVAL

[The unpopularity of Walpole was greatly increased by the disasters of the Spanish war, all of which were ascribed to his bad management or want of preparation. The Opposition therefore decided, early in 1741, on the extreme measure of proposing an address to the king for his removal. Accordingly, Mr. Sandys, who was designated to take the lead, gave notice of a motion to that effect on the 11th of February, 1741. At the end of two days the motion was made. A few days after, Walpole made a speech of four hours, in reply to Sandys and others, by whom he had been attacked. We have only an imperfect outline of his argument in the speech given below, but there is reason to believe that the introductory part and the conclusion are very nearly in his own words.]

IT HAS been observed by several gentlemen, in vindication of this motion, that if it should be carried neither my life, liberty, nor estate will be affected. But do the honorable gentlemen consider my character and reputation as

of no moment? Is it no imputation to be arraigned before this House, in which I have sat forty years, and to have my name transmitted to posterity with disgrace and infamy? I will not conceal my sentiments that to be named in Parliament as a subject of inquiry is to me a matter of great concern. But I have the satisfaction, at the same time, to reflect that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge and the motives of the prosecutors.

Had the charge been reduced to specific allegations, I should have felt myself called upon for a specific defence. Had I served a weak or wicked master, and implicitly obeyed his dictates, obedience to his commands must have been my only justification. But as it has been my good fortune to serve a master who wants no bad ministers, and would have hearkened to none, my defence must rest on my own conduct. The consciousness of innocence is also a sufficient support against my present prosecutors. A further justification is derived from a consideration of the views and abilities of the prosecutors. Had I been guilty of great enormities, they want neither zeal and inclination to bring them forward, nor ability to place them in the most prominent point of view. But as I am conscious of no crime, my own experience convinces me that none can be justly imputed.

I must therefore ask the gentlemen, from whence does this attack proceed? From the passions and prejudices of the parties combined against me, who may be divided into three classes, the Boys, the riper Patriots, and the Tories. The Tories I can easily forgive. They have unwillingly come into the measure; and they do me honor in thinking it necessary to remove me, as their only obstacle. What, then, is the inference to be drawn from these premises? That demerit with my opponents ought to be considered as merit with others.

But my great and principal crime is my long continuance in office; or, in other words, the long exclusion of those who now complain against me. This is the heinous offence which exceeds all others. I keep from them the possession of that power, those honors, and those emoluments, to which they so ardently and pertinaciously aspire. I will not attempt to deny the reasonableness and necessity of a party war; but in carrying on that war all principles and rules of justice should not be departed from. The Tories must confess that the most obnoxious persons have felt few instances of extra-judicial power. Wherever they have been arraigned, a plain charge has been exhibited against them. They have had an impartial trial and have been permitted to make their defence. And will they, who have experienced this fair and equitable mode of proceeding, act in direct opposition to every principle of justice and establish this fatal precedent of Parliamentary inquisition? Whom would they conciliate by a conduct so contrary to principle and precedent?

Can it be fitting in them [the Tories], who have divided the public opinion of the nation, to share it with those who now appear as their competitors? With the men of yesterday, the boys in politics, who would be absolutely contemptible did not their audacity render them detestable? With the mock patriots, whose practice and professions prove their selfishness and malignity; who threatened to pursue me to destruction, and who have never for a moment lost sight of their object? These men, under the name of Separatists, presume to call themselves exclusively the nation and the people, and under that character assume all power. In their estimation, the king, lords, and commons are a faction, and they are the government.

Upon these principles they threaten the destruction of all

authority and think they have a right to judge, direct, and resist all legal magistrates. They withdraw from Parliament because they succeed in nothing; and then attribute their want of success, not to its true cause, their own want of integrity and importance, but to the effect of places, pensions, and corruption.

May it not be asked on this point, Are the people on the court side more united than on the other? Are not the Tories, Jacobites, and Patriots equally determined? What makes this strict union? What cements this heterogeneous mass? Party engagements and personal attachments. However different their views and principles, they all agree in opposition. The Jacobites distress the government they would subvert; the Tories contend for party prevalence and power. The Patriots, from discontent and disappointment, would change the ministry, that themselves may exclusively succeed. They have labored this point twenty years unsuccessfully. They are impatient of longer delay. They clamor for change of measures, but mean only change of ministers.

In party contests why should not both sides be equally steady? Does not a Whig administration as well deserve the support of the Whigs as the contrary? Why is not principle the cement in one as well as the other; especially when my opponents confess that all is levelled against one man? Why this one man? Because they think, vainly, nobody else could withstand them. All others are treated as tools and vassals. The one is the corrupter; the numbers corrupted.

But whence this cry of corruption, and exclusive claim of honorable distinction? Compare the estates, characters, and fortunes of the Commons on one side with those on the other. Let the matter be fairly investigated. Survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of govern-

ment, and those who are in opposition. Let us see to whose side the balance preponderates. Look round both Houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talents preponderates! Are all these on one side, and not on the other? Or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism?

Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism. A venerable word, when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! Why, patriots spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and disappointed ambition. There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition.

I shall now consider the articles of accusation which they have brought against me, and which they have not thought fit to reduce to specific charges; and I shall consider these in the same order as that in which they were placed by the honorable member who made the motion. First, in regard to foreign affairs; secondly, to domestic affairs; and, thirdly, to the conduct of the war.

As to foreign affairs, I must take notice of the uncandid manner in which the gentlemen on the other side have managed the question by blending numerous treaties and complicated negotiations into one general mass.

To form a fair and candid judgment of the subject it becomes necessary not to consider the treaties merely insulated, but to advert to the time in which they were made, to the circumstances and situation of Europe when they were made, to the peculiar situation in which I stand, and to the power which I possessed. I am called repeatedly and insidiously prime and sole minister. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that I am prime and sole minister in this country, am I, therefore, prime and sole minister of all Europe? Am I answerable for the conduct of other countries as well as for that of my own? Many words are not wanting to show that the particular view of each court occasioned the dangers which affected the public tranquillity; yet the whole is charged to my account. Nor is this sufficient. Whatever was the conduct of England, I am equally arraigned. If we maintained ourselves in peace, and took no share in foreign transactions, we are reproached for tameness and pusillanimity. If, on the contrary, we interfered in these disputes, we are called Don Quixotes, and dupes to all the world. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked why is the nation wantonly burdened? If guarantees were declined, we were reproached with having no allies.

I have, however, sir, this advantage, that all the objections now alleged against the conduct of the administration to which I have the honor to belong have already been answered to the satisfaction of a majority of both houses of Parliament, and I believe to the satisfaction of a majority of the better sort of people in the nation. I need, therefore, only repeat a few of these answers that have been made already, which I shall do in the order of time in which the several transactions happened; and consequently must begin with our refusing to accept of the sole mediation offered us by Spain, on the breach between that court and the court of France occasioned by the dismission of the Infanta of Spain.

I hope it will not be said we had any reason to quarrel with France upon that account; and therefore, if our accepting of that mediation might have produced a rupture with France, it was not our duty to interfere unless we had something very beneficial to expect from the acceptance. A reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, it is true, was desirable to all Europe as well as to us, provided it had been brought about without any design to disturb our tranquillity or the tranquillity of Europe. But both parties were then so high in their demands that we could hope for no success; and if the negotiation had ended without effect we might have expected the common fate of arbitrators, the disobliging of both. Therefore, as it was our interest to keep well with both, I must still think it was the most prudent part we could act to refuse the offered mediation.

The next step of our foreign conduct, exposed to reprehension, is the treaty of Hanover. Sir, if I were to give the true history of that treaty, which no gentleman can desire I should, I am sure I could fully justify my own conduct. But as I do not desire to justify my own without justifying his late Majesty's conduct, I must observe that his late Majesty had such information as convinced not only him, but those of his council, both at home and abroad, that some dangerous designs had been formed between the Emperor and Spain at the time of their concluding the treaty at Vienna, in May, 1725; designs, sir, which were dangerous not only to the liberties of this nation, but to the liberties of Europe. They were not only to wrest Gibraltar and Port Mahon from this nation, and force the Pretender upon us; but they were to have Don Carlos married to the Emperor's eldest daughter, who would thereby have had a probability of uniting in his person, or in the person of some of his successors, the crowns of France and Spain,

with the imperial dignity and the Austrian dominions. It was therefore highly reasonable, both in France and us, to take the alarm at such designs, and to think betimes of preventing their being carried into execution. But with regard to us, it was more particularly our business to take the alarm, because we were to have been immediately attacked. I shall grant, sir, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for Spain and the Emperor, joined together, to have invaded or made themselves masters of any of the British dominions. But will it be said they might not have invaded the King's dominions in Germany, in order to force him to a compliance with what they desired of him as king of Great Britain? And if those dominions had been invaded on account of a quarrel with this nation, should we not have been obliged, both in honor and interest, to defend them? When we were thus threatened, it was therefore absolutely necessary for us to make an alliance with France; and, that we might not trust too much to their assistance, it was likewise necessary to form alliances with the northern powers and with some of the princes in Germany, which we never did, nor ever could do, without granting them immediate subsidies. These measures were, therefore, I still think, not only prudent, but necessary; and by these measures we made it much more dangerous for the Emperor and Spain to attack us than it would otherwise have been.

But still, sir, though by these alliances we put ourselves upon an equal footing with our enemies in case of an attack, yet, in order to preserve the tranquillity of Europe as well as our own, there was something else to be done. We knew that war could not be begun and carried on without money; we knew that the Emperor had no money for that purpose without receiving large remittances from Spain; and we knew that Spain could make no such remittances without receiving

large returns of treasure from the West Indies. The only way, therefore, to render these two powers incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, was by sending a squadron to the West Indies to stop the return of the Spanish galleons; and this made it necessary, at the same time, to send a squadron to the Mediterranean for the security of our valuable possessions in that part of the world.

By these measures the Emperor saw the impossibility of attacking us in any part of the world, because Spain could give him no assistance either in money or troops; and the attack made by the Spaniards upon Gibraltar was so feeble, that we had no occasion to call upon our allies for assistance. A small squadron of our own prevented their attacking it by sea, and from their attack by land we had nothing to fear. They might have knocked their brains out against inaccessible rocks to this very day without bringing that fortress into any danger.

I do not pretend, sir, to be a great master of foreign affairs. In that post in which I have the honor to serve his Majesty, it is not my business to interfere; and as one of his Majesty's council I have but one voice. But if I had been the sole adviser of the treaty of Hanover and of all the measures which were taken in pursuance of it, from what I have said I hope it will appear that I do not deserve to be censured either as a weak or a wicked minister on that account.

The next measures which incurred censure were the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the second treaty of Vienna, and the refusal of the cabinet to assist the house of Austria, in conformity with the articles of that guarantee.

As to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, I am really surprised to find that measure objected to. It was so universally approved of, both within doors and without, that till

this very day I think no fault was ever found with it, unless it was that of being too long delayed. If it was so necessary for supporting the balance of power in Europe, as has been insisted on in this debate, to preserve entire the dominions of the house of Austria, surely it was not our business to insist upon a partition of them in favor of any of the princes of the empire. But if we had, could we have expected that the house of Austria would have agreed to any such partition, even for the acquisition of our guarantee? The King of Prussia had, it is true, a claim upon some lordships in Silesia; but that claim was absolutely denied by the court of Vienna, and was not at that time so much insisted on by the late King of Prussia. Nay, if he had lived till this time, I believe it would not now have been insisted on; for he acceded to that guarantee without any reservation of that claim; therefore I must look upon this as an objection which has since arisen from an accident that could not then be foreseen or provided against.

I must therefore think, sir, that our guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, or our manner of doing it, cannot now be objected to, nor any person censured by Parliament for advising that measure. In regard to the refusal of the cabinet to assist the house of Austria, though it was prudent and right in us to enter into that guarantee, we were not therefore obliged to enter into every broil the house of Austria might afterward lead themselves into. And therefore we were not in honor obliged to take any share in the war which the Emperor brought upon himself in the year 1733; nor were we in interest obliged to take a share in that war as long as neither side attempted to push their conquests farther than was consistent with the balance of power in Europe, which was a case that did not happen. For the power of the house

of Austria was not diminished by the event of that war, because they got Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia in lieu of Naples and Sicily; nor was the power of France much increased, because Lorraine was a province she had taken and kept possession of during every war in which she had been engaged.

As to the disputes with Spain, they had not then reached such a height as to make it necessary for us to come to an open rupture. We had then reason to hope that all differences would be accommodated in an amicable manner; and while we have any such hopes it can never be prudent for us to engage ourselves in war, especially with Spain, where we have always had a very beneficial commerce. These hopes, it is true, sir, at last proved abortive; but I never heard it was a crime to hope for the best. This sort of hope was the cause of the late Convention. If Spain had performed her part of that preliminary treaty, I am sure it would not have been wrong in us to have hoped for a friendly accommodation, and for that end to have waited nine or ten months longer, in which time the plenipotentiaries were, by the treaty, to have adjusted all the differences subsisting between the two nations. But the failure of Spain in performing what had been agreed to by this preliminary put an end to all our hopes, and then, and not till then, it became prudent to enter into hostilities, which were commenced as soon as possible after the expiration of the term limited for the payment of the £95,000.

Strong and virulent censures have been cast on me for having commenced the war without a single ally; and this deficiency has been ascribed to the multifarious treaties in which I have bewildered myself. But although the authors of this imputation are well apprised that all these treaties have been

submitted to and approved by Parliament, yet they are now brought forward as crimes, without appealing to the judgment of Parliament, and without proving or declaring that all or any of them were advised by me. A supposed sole minister is to be condemned and punished as the author of all; and what adds to the enormity is that an attempt was made to convict him uncharged and unheard, without taking into consideration the most arduous crisis which ever occurred in the annals of Europe. Sweden corrupted by France; Denmark tempted and wavering; the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel almost gained; the King of Prussia, the Emperor, and the Tsarina, with whom alliances had been negotiating, dead; the Austrian dominions claimed by Spain and Bavaria; the Elector of Saxony hesitating whether he should accede to the general confederacy planned by France; the court of Vienna irresolute and indecisive. In this critical juncture, if France enters into engagements with Prussia, and if the Queen of Hungary hesitates and listens to France, are all or any of those events to be imputed to English counsels? And if to English counsels, why are they to be attributed to one man?

I now come, sir, to the second head, the conduct of domestic affairs. And here a most heinous charge is made, that the nation has been burdened with unnecessary expenses for the sole purpose of preventing the discharge of our debts and the abolition of taxes. But this attack is more to the dishonor of the whole cabinet council than to me. If there is any ground for this imputation, it is a charge upon King, Lords, and Commons, as corrupted or imposed upon. And they have no proof of these allegations, but affect to substantiate them by common fame and public notoriety!

No expense has been incurred but what has been approved of and provided for by Parliament. The public treasure

has been duly applied to the uses to which it was appropriated by Parliament, and regular accounts have been annually laid before Parliament, of every article of expense. If by foreign accidents, by the disputes of foreign states among themselves, or by their designs against us, the nation has often been put to an extraordinary expense, that expense cannot be said to have been unnecessary; because, if by saving it we had exposed the balance of power to danger, or ourselves to an attack, it would have cost, perhaps, a hundred times that sum before we could recover from that danger or repel that attack.

In all such cases there will be a variety of opinions. I happened to be one of those who thought all these expenses necessary, and I had the good fortune to have the majority of both houses of Parliament on my side. But this, it seems, proceeded from bribery and corruption. Sir, if any one instance had been mentioned, if it had been shown that I ever offered a reward to any member of either House, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his vote in Parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge. But when it is so generally laid I do not know what I can say to it unless it be to deny it as generally and as positively as it has been asserted. And, thank God! till some proof be offered, I have the laws of the land as well as the laws of charity in my favor.

Some members of both Houses have, it is true, been removed from their employments under the Crown; but were they ever told, either by me or by any other of his Majesty's servants, that it was for opposing the measures of the administration in Parliament? They were removed because his Majesty did not think fit to continue them longer in his service. His Majesty had a right so to do; and I know no one that has a right to ask him, "What doest thou?" If his

Majesty had a mind that the favors of the Crown should circulate, would not this of itself be a good reason for removing any of his servants? Would not this reason be approved of by the whole nation, except those who happen to be the present possessors? I cannot, therefore, see how this can be imputed as a crime, or how any of the King's ministers can be blamed for his doing what the public has no concern in; for if the public be well and faithfully served it has no business to ask by whom.

As to the particular charge urged against me, I mean that of the army debentures, I am surprised, sir, to hear anything relating to this affair charged upon me. Whatever blame may attach to this affair, it must be placed to the account of those that were in power when I was, as they call it, the country gentleman. It was by them this affair was introduced and conducted, and I came in only to pay off those public securities which their management had reduced to a great discount; and consequently to redeem our public credit from that reproach which they had brought upon it. The discount at which these army debentures were negotiated was a strong and prevalent reason with Parliament to apply the sinking fund first to the payment of those debentures; but the sinking fund could not be applied to that purpose till it began to produce something considerable, which was not till the year 1727. That the sinking fund was then to receive a great addition was a fact publicly known in 1726; and if some people were sufficiently quick-sighted to foresee that the Parliament would probably make this use of it, and cunning enough to make the most of their own foresight, could I help it, or could they be blamed for doing so? But I defy my most inveterate enemy to prove that I had any hand in bringing these debentures to a discount, or that I had any share in the profits by buying them up.

In reply to those who confidently assert that the national

debt is not decreased since 1727, and that the sinking fund has not been applied to the discharge of the public burdens, I can with truth declare that a part of the debt has been paid off; and the landed interest has been very much eased with respect to that most unequal and grievous burden, the land tax. I say so, sir, because upon examination it will appear that within these sixteen or seventeen years no less than £8,000,000 of our debt has been actually discharged by the due application of the sinking fund; and at least £7,000,000 has been taken from that fund and applied to the ease of the land tax. For if it had not been applied to the current service, we must have supplied that service by increasing the land tax; and as the sinking fund was originally designed for paying off our debts and easing us of our taxes, the application of it in case of the land tax was certainly as proper and necessary a use as could be made. And I little thought that giving relief to landed gentlemen would have been brought against me as a crime.

I shall now advert to the third topic of accusation: the conduct of the war. I have already stated in what manner and under what circumstances hostilities commenced; and as I am neither general nor admiral — as I have nothing to do either with our navy or army — I am sure that I am not answerable for the prosecution of it. But were I to answer for everything no fault could, I think, be found with my conduct in the prosecution of the war. It has from the beginning been carried on with as much vigor and as great care of our trade as was consistent with our safety at home and with the circumstances we were in at the beginning of the war. If our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for many years been haranguing against standing armies; for, without a sufficient number of regular

troops in proportion to the numbers kept up by our neighbors, I am sure we can neither defend ourselves nor offend our enemies. On the supposed miscarriages of the war, so unfairly stated and so unjustly imputed to me, I could, with great ease, frame an incontrovertible defence. But as I have trespassed so long on the time of the House I shall not weaken the effect of that forcible exculpation so generously and disinterestedly advanced by the right honorable gentleman who so meritoriously presides at the admiralty.

If my whole administration is to be scrutinized and arraigned, why are the most favorable parts to be omitted? If facts are to be accumulated on one side, why not on the other? And why may not I be permitted to speak in my own favor? Was I not called by the voice of the King and the nation to remedy the fatal effects of the South Sea project and to support declining credit? Was I not placed at the head of the treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived, and does it now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height, and if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved both at home and abroad, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has the true interest of the nation been pursued, or has trade flourished? Have gentlemen produced one instance of this exorbitant power; of the influence which I extend to all parts of the nation; of the tyranny with which I oppress those who oppose, and the liberality with which I reward those who support me? But having first invested me with a kind of mock dignity, and styled me a prime minister, they impute to me an unpardonable abuse of that chimerical authority which they only have created and conferred.

If they are really persuaded that the army is annually estab-

lished by me, that I have the sole disposal of posts and honors, that I employ this power in the destruction of liberty and the diminution of commerce, let me awaken them from their delusion. Let me expose to their view the real condition of the public weal. Let me show them that the Crown has made no encroachments, that all supplies have been granted by Parliament, that all questions have been debated with the same freedom as before the fatal period in which my counsels are said to have gained the ascendency; an ascendency from which they deduce the loss of trade, the approach of slavery, the preponderance of prerogative, and the extension of influence. But I am far from believing that they feel those apprehensions which they so earnestly labor to communicate to others; and I have too high an opinion of their sagacity not to conclude that, even in their own judgment, they are complaining of grievances that they do not suffer, and promoting rather their private interest than that of the public.

What is this unbounded sole power which is imputed to me? How has it discovered itself, or how has it been proved?

What have been the effects of the corruption, ambition, and avarice with which I am so abundantly charged?

Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon, a corrupter himself not corrupt! Is ambition imputed to me? Why then do I still continue a commoner? I, who refused a white staff and a peerage. I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders [the garter], which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in another place, it cannot be supposed to raise any resentment in this House, where many may be pleased to see those honors which their ancestors have worn, restored again to the Commons.

Have I given any symptoms of an avaricious disposition? Have I obtained any grants from the Crown since I have been placed at the head of the treasury? Has my conduct been different from that which others in the same station would have followed? Have I acted wrong in giving the place of auditor to my son and in providing for my own family? I trust that their advancement will not be imputed to me as a crime unless it shall be proved that I placed them in offices of trust and responsibility for which they were unfit.

But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of the government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honor to hold; and should, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable.

To conclude, sir, though I shall always be proud of the honor of any trust or confidence from his Majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question if it were not for the encroachment that will thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the Crown. But I must think that an address to his Majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogatives of the Crown. And therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope all those that have a due regard for our constitution and for the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, without which our constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion.

SAURIN

JACQUES SAURIN, a gifted and eloquent French Protestant preacher, the son of a Huguenot refugee, was born at Nîmes, January 6, 1677. He studied under able theologians at Geneva. After a few years' ministry to a Walloon (or Belgian) congregation in London he became pastor at The Hague, Holland. Here he diligently labored the last twenty-five years of his life, doing gospel service, winning distinction, and meeting envious attacks with patience. He died in 1730.

SERMON: CHRISTIAN HEROISM

"He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."—Proverbs xvi, 32.

WERE we to judge of these words by the first impressions they make on the mind, we should place them among such hyperbolical propositions as imagination forms to color and exceed truth. The mind on some occasions is so struck as to magnify the object in contemplation. The more susceptible people are of lively impressions, the more subject they are to declamation and hyperbole.

We find these maxims sometimes necessary in explaining the sacred authors. Were we to adhere scrupulously to their words, we should often mistake their meaning and extend their thoughts beyond due bounds. The people of the East seldom express themselves with precision. A cloud intercepting a few rays of light is the "sun darkened." A meteor in the air is "the powers of the heavens shaken." Jonah in the belly of the fish is a man "down at the bottom of the mountains." Thunder is the "voice of Jehovah,

powerful and full of majesty, dividing flames of fire, breaking cedars of Lebanon, making Syrians skip, and stripping forests bare." A swarm of insects is "a nation set in battle array, marching every one on his ways, not breaking their ranks, besieging a city, having the teeth of a lion and the cheek teeth of a great lion" (Joel i, 6, and ii, 7, 9).

If we be ever authorized to solve a difficult text by examining the license of hyperbolical style; if ever it be necessary to reduce hyperbole to precision, is it not so now in explaining the text before us, "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city?" What justness can there be in comparing a man who, by reflection, corrects his passions, with an hero who, in virtue of concerted plans, great fatigues, spending days and nights on horseback, surmounting difficulties, enduring heats and colds, braving a variety of dangers, at last arrives, by marching through a shower of shot darkening the air, to cut through a squadron, to scale a wall, and to hoist his flag in a conquered city?

But, however just this commentary may appear, you will make no use of it here unless you place Christianity in the exercise of easy virtues, and, after the example of most men, accommodate religion to your passions instead of reforming your passions by religion. Endeavor to form principles, resist fashion and custom, eradicate prejudice, undertake the conquest of yourself, carry fire and sword into the most sensible part of your soul, enter the lists with your darling sin, "mortify your members which are upon earth," rise above flesh and blood, nature and self-love, and, to say all in one word, endeavor to "rule your spirit;" and you will find that Solomon hath rigorously observed the laws of precision, that he hath spoken the language of logic, and not of oratory, and that there is not a shadow of hyperbole or exaggeration in

this proposition, "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." . . .

Let us consider the motives which animate a conqueror that taketh a city, and the motives which animate a man that obtains rule over his spirit; the motives of the true hero with the motives of the false hero. What are the motives of a false hero? What spirit animates him when he undertakes to conquer a city? This is one of the questions which sinful passions have most obscured. Truth is disguised in epistles dedicatory, and in profane eulogiums, yea, sometimes in religious discourses. The majesty of a victorious general, the glory of a conqueror, the pompous titles of victor, arbiter of peace, arbiter of war, have so dazzled us, and in some sort so perverted the powers of our soul that we cannot form just notions of this subject. Hear pure nature, formerly speaking by the mouth of a nation who were the more wise for not being civilized by the injustice of our laws and customs. I speak of the ancient Scythians. The most famous taker of cities came to their cabins and caverns. He had already subdued his fellow citizens and neighbors. Already Thebes and Athens, Thrace and Thessaly, had submitted to his arms. Already, Greece being too small a sphere of action for him, he had penetrated even into Persia, passed the famous Phrygian river, where he slew six hundred thousand men, reduced Caria and Judea, made war with Darius and conquered him, performed exploits more than human, and, in spite of nature, besieged and took Tyre, the most famous siege recorded in ancient history, subjugated the Mardi and Bactrians, attained the mountains Caucasus and Oxus, and, in a word, conquered more countries and enslaved more people than we can describe, or even mention within the limits allotted to this exercise. This man arrives in Scythia. The Scythians

sent deputies to him, who thus addressed him: "Had the gods given you a body proportioned to your ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for you: with one hand you would have touched the east, and with the other the west, and not content with this, you would have followed the sun and have seen where he hides himself. Whatever you are, you are aspiring at what you can never obtain. From Europe you run into Asia, and from Asia back you run again into Europe; and, having enslaved all mankind, you attack rivers, and forests, and wild beasts. What have you to do with us? We have never set foot in your country. May not a people living in a desert be allowed to be ignorant of who you are and whence you come? You boast of having exterminated robbers, and you yourself are the greatest robber in the world. You have pillaged and plundered all nations, and now you come to rob us of our cattle. It is in vain to fill your hands, for you are always in search of fresh prey. Of what use are your boundless riches, except to irritate your eternal thirst? You are the first man who ever experienced such extreme want in the midst of such abundance. All you have serves only to make you desire with more fury what you have not. If you be a god, do good to mankind; but if you be only an insignificant mortal, think of what you are and remember that it is a great folly to occupy things which make us forget ourselves." These are the motives which animate the heroes of the world; these are the sentiments which are disguised under the fine names of glory, valor, greatness of soul, heroism. An insatiable avidity of riches, an invincible pride, a boundless ambition, a total forgetfulness of what is, what ought to be, and what must be hereafter.

The motives of him who endeavors to render himself

master of his own heart are love of order, desire of freedom from the slavery of the passions, a noble firmness of soul, which admits only what appears true, and loves only what appears lovely, after sober and serious discussion. In this first view, then, the advantage is wholly in favor of him that ruleth his spirit. "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

Compare, in the second place, the exploits of him that ruleth his spirit with the exploits of him that taketh a city. He who is capable of ruling his spirit is capable of all that is great and noble in him that taketh a city: but he that taketh a city is not capable of all that is great and magnanimous in him that ruleth his spirit. I will explain myself.

What is there great and magnanimous in a hero that taketh a city? Patience to endure fatigue, to surmount difficulties, to suffer contradiction; intrepidity in the most frightful dangers; presence of mind in the most violent and painful exercises; unshaken firmness in sight of a near and terrible dissolution. These are dispositions of mind, I grant, which seem to elevate man above humanity; but a Christian hero is capable of all this. I speak sincerely and without a figure. A man who hath obtained a religious freedom of mind, who always preserves this liberty, who always weighs good and evil, who believes only what is true and does only what is right; who hath always his eye upon his duty, or, as the Psalmist expresseth it, who "sets the Lord always before him," such a man is capable, literally capable, of all you admire in a worldly hero. No difficulty discourages him, no contradiction disconcerts him, no fatigue stops him, no dangers affright him, no pain but he can bear, no appearance of death shocks him into paleness, and fear, and flight. Our women and children, our confessors and martyrs, have literally performed

greater exploits of fortitude, patience, courage, and constancy, in convents, prisons, and dungeons, at stakes and on scaffolds than Alexanders and Cæsars in all their lives. And where is the hero of this world who hath performed so many actions of courage and magnanimity, in sieges and battles, as our confessors have for thirty years on board the galleys? The former were supported by the presence of thousands of witnesses; the latter had no spectators but God and their own consciences. The Christian hero is capable then of all that is great in the hero of the world. But the worldly hero is incapable of performing such exploits as the Christian hero performs; and he knows perfectly that his heroism doth not conduct him so far in the path of glory. Try the strength of a worldly hero. Set him to contend with a passion. You will soon find this man, invincible before, subdued into slavery and shame. He who was firm and fearless in sight of fire and flame, at the sound of warlike instruments, becomes feeble, mean, and enervated by a seducing and enchanting object. Samson defeats the Philistine; but Delilah subdues Samson. Samson carries away the gates of Gaza; but Samson sinks under the weight of his own sensuality. Hercules seeks highway robbers to combat and monsters to subdue; but he cannot resist impurity. We find him on monuments of antiquity carrying an infant on his shoulders, an emblem of voluptuousness, stooping under that unworthy burden and letting his club fall from his hand. There is, therefore no declamation, no hyperbole in our proposition; the Christian hero is capable of performing all the great actions performed by the hero of the world; but the hero of the world is incapable of performing such noble actions as the Christian hero performs; and in this respect "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

Compare him that taketh a city with him that ruleth his spirit, in regard to the enemies whom they attack, and you will find in the latter a third title of superiority over the former. He that taketh a city attacks an exterior enemy, who is a stranger and often odious to him. The ambition that fills his soul leaves no room for compassion and pity; and, provided he can but obtain his end, no matter to him though the way be strewed with the dying and the dead: to obtain that he travels over mountains of heads and arms and carcasses. The tumultuous passions which tyrannize over him stifle the voice of nature and deafen him to the cries of a thousand miserable wretches sacrificed to his fame.

The enemy whom the Christian combats is his own heart: for he is required to turn his arms against himself. He must suspend all sentiments of self-love; he must become his own executioner, and, to use the ideas and expressions of Jesus Christ, he must actually deny himself.

Jesus Christ well knew mankind. He did not preach like some preaching novices who, in order to incline their hearers to subdue their passions, propose the work to them as free from difficulty. Jesus Christ did not disguise the difficulties which the man must undergo who puts on the spirit of Christianity; and I do not know whether we meet with any expression in the writings of pagan poets or philosophers more natural and at the same time more emphatical than this: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself" (Matt. xvi, 24).

Not that this is literally practicable, not that man can put off himself, not that religion requires us to sacrifice to it what makes the essence and happiness of our nature; on the contrary, strictly speaking, it is sin which makes us put off or deny what is great and noble in our essence; it is sin which

requires us to sacrifice our true happiness to it. If Jesus Christ expresses himself in this manner, it is because when man is possessed with a passion it is incorporated, as it were, with himself; it seems to him essential to his felicity; everything troubles and everything puts him on the rack when he cannot gratify it; without gratifying his passion, his food hath no taste, flowers no smell, pleasures no point, the sun is dark, society disagreeable, life itself hath no charms. To attack a reigning passion is to deny self; and here is the patience of the saints; this is the enemy whom the Christian attacks; this is the war which he wageth. How tremulous and weak is the hand when it toucheth a sword to be plunged into one's own bosom! Love of order, truth, and virtue support a Christian hero in this almost desperate undertaking.

In fine, compare him that ruleth his spirit with him that taketh a city, in regard to the acclamations with which they are accompanied and the crowns prepared for them. Who are the authors of those acclamations with which the air resounds the praise of worldly heroes? They are courtiers, poets, panegyrists. But what! are people of this order the only persons who entertain just notions of glory? and if they be, are they generous enough to speak out? How can a soul wholly devoted to the will and caprice of a conqueror; how can a venal creature who makes a market of eulogiums and praises which he sells to the highest bidder; how can a brutal soldiery determine what is worthy of praise or blame? Is it for such people to distribute prizes of glory and to assign heroes their rank? To be exalted by people of this sort is a shame; to be crowned by their hands an infamy.

Elevate, elevate thy meditation, Christian soul, rise into the majesty of the Great Supreme. Think of that sublime intelligence who unites in his essence everything noble and

sublime. Contemplate God, surrounded with angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim. Hear the concerts which happy spirits perform to his glory. Hear them, penetrated, ravished, charmed with the divine beauties, crying night and day, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory. Blessing and glory, wisdom and thanksgiving, honor and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?" This Being so perfect, this Being so worthily praised, this Being so worthy of everlasting praise, this is he who will pronounce upon true glory; this is he who will compose the eulogium of all who aspire at it; this is he who will one day praise in the face of heaven and earth all those who shall have made the noble conquests which we have been describing.

Imagination sinks under the weight of this subject, and this object is too bright for eyes like ours; but the nature of things doth not depend on our faculty of seeing them. As God calls us to combats more than human, so he sees fit to support us by a prospect of more than human rewards. Yes, it is the Supreme Being, it is he who will one day distribute the praises which are due to such as have triumphed over themselves. What a spectacle! what a prospect! Yes, Christian champion, after thou hast resisted flesh and blood, after thou hast been treated as a fool by mankind, after thou hast run the race of tribulation, after thou hast made thy life one perpetual martyrdom, thou shalt be called forth in the presence of men and angels; the master of the world shall separate thee from the crowd; there he will address to thee this language, Well done, good and faithful servant; there he

will accomplish the promise which he this day makes to all who fight under his standard, He that overcometh shall sit down in my throne. Ah! glory of worldly heroes, profane encomiums, fastidious inscriptions, proud trophies, brilliant but corruptible diadems! what are you in comparison with the acclamations which await the Christian hero and the crowns which God the rewarder prepares for him?

And you, mean and timid souls, who perhaps admire these triumphs, but who have not the ambition to strive to obtain them; you soft and indolent spirits who, without reluctance, give up all pretensions to the immortal crowns which God prepares for heroism, provided he require no account of your indolence and effeminacy, and suffer you, like brute beasts, to follow the first instincts of your nature,— undeceive yourselves. I said at the beginning you are all called to heroism; there is no midway in religion; you must be covered with shame and infamy, along with the base and timid, or crowned with glory in company with heroes. The duty of an intelligent soul is to adhere to truth and to follow virtue; we bring into the world with us obstacles to both; our duty is to surmount them; without this we betray our trust; we do not answer the end of our creation; we are guilty, and we shall be punished for not endeavoring to obtain the great end for which we were created. . . .

Let us religiously abide by our principle. The duty of an intelligent soul is to adhere to truth and to practise virtue. We are born with a disinclination to both. Our duty is to get rid of this; and without doing so we neglect the obligation of an intelligent soul; we do not answer the end for which we were intended; we are guilty and we shall be punished for not having answered the end of our creation.

Let us consider ourselves as soldiers placed around a

besieged city and having such or such an enemy to fight, such or such a post to force. You, you are naturally subject to violence and anger. It is sad to find in one's own constitution an opposition to virtues so lovely as those of submission, charity, sweetness, and patience. Groan under this evil, but do not despair; when you are judged less attention will be paid to your natural indisposition to these virtues than to the efforts which you made to get rid of it. To this point direct all your attention, all your strength, and all your courage. Say to yourself, this is the post which my general intends I should force; this is the enemy I am to fight with. And be you fully convinced that one of the principal views which God hath in preserving your life is that you should render yourself master of this passion. You, you are naturally disposed to be proud. The moment you leave your mind to its natural bias it turns to such objects as seem the most fit to give you high ideas of yourself, to your penetration, your memory, your imagination, and even to exterior advantages which vanity generally incorporates with the person who enjoys them. It is melancholy to find within yourself any seeds of an inclination which so ill agree with creatures vile and miserable as men. Lament this misfortune, but do not despair; to this side turn all your attention and all your courage and strength. Say to yourself, this is the post which my general would have me force; this is the enemy whom he hath appointed me to oppose. And be fully convinced that one of the principal views of God in continuing you in this world is that you may resist this passion and make yourself master of it.

Let us, all together, my brethren, endeavor to rule our own spirits. Let us not be dismayed at the greatness of the work, because greater is he that is in us than he that is in

the world. Grace comes to the aid of nature. Prayer acquires strength by exercise. The passions, after having been tyrants, become slaves in their turn. The danger and pain of battle vanish when the eye gets sight of conquest. How inconceivably beautiful is victory then! God grant we may obtain it! To him be honor and glory forever. Amen.

[Translated by the Rev. Robert Robinson.]

PULTENEY

WILLIAM PULTENEY, Earl of Bath, a noted English statesman, was born in London, March 22, 1684, and received his education at Westminster School and Christ Church College, Oxford University. He entered Parliament in 1705 as a Whig member for Hedon in Yorkshire, and a few years later was active in the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell. When charges were brought against Walpole which led to his imprisonment in the Tower in 1712, Pulteney upheld him during the debates in Parliament. On the accession of George I he was made privy councillor and secretary of war, but when Walpole became first lord of the treasury in 1721 no office under him was offered to Pulteney, who had confidently expected such acknowledgment of his former services to his chief. Smarting under this evidence of neglect he abruptly declined an offered peerage, and in 1725 went over to the Opposition party and wrote several bitter pamphlets against Walpole. He soon became conspicuous as the leader of the faction against Walpole, and on the latter's retirement in 1741 was the actual framer of the new cabinet, although the Earl of Wilmington was its nominal head. Very soon after this event he was made Earl of Bath, but his transference to the House of Lords practically destroyed his political influence. He spoke but seldom in Parliament after this, but devoted himself mainly to literary pursuits, enjoying great popularity in literary circles until his death in London, July 7, 1764. Pulteney was a brilliant orator, possessing great versatility, and was witty and direct in argument, but as a politician suffered himself to be swayed by the spirit of faction rather than by true patriotic sentiment. Besides his authorship of various political pamphlets he was Bolingbroke's principal assistant in writing "The Craftsman," a journal printed from 1726 to 1736.

ON A MOTION FOR REDUCING THE ARMY

SIR,— We have heard a great deal about Parliamentary armies, and about an army continued from year to year. I have always been, sir, and always shall be, against a standing army of any kind. To me it is a terrible thing, whether under that of Parliamentary or any other designation. A standing army is still a standing army, whatever name it be called by. They are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws; and blind obedience and an entire submission to the

orders of their commanding officer is their only principle. The nations around us, sir, are already enslaved and have been enslaved by these very means: by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties. It is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up. Shall we, then, take any of our measures from the examples of our neighbors? No, sir, on the contrary, from their misfortunes we ought to learn to avoid those rocks upon which they have split.

It signifies nothing to tell me that our army is commanded by such gentlemen as cannot be supposed to join in any measures for enslaving their country. It may be so. I hope it is so! I have a very good opinion of many gentlemen now in the army. I believe they would not join in any such measures. But their lives are uncertain, nor can we be sure how long they may be continued in command; they may be all dismissed in a moment, and proper tools of power put in their room.

Besides, sir, we know the passions of men; we know how dangerous it is to trust the best of men with too much power. Where was there a braver army than that under Julius Cæsar? Where was there ever an army that had served their country more faithfully? That army was commanded generally by the best citizens of Rome — by men of great fortune and figure in their country; yet that army enslaved their country.

The affections of the soldiers toward their country, the honor and integrity of the under officers, are not to be depended on. By the military law the administration of justice is so quick, and the punishments so severe, that neither officer nor soldier dares offer to dispute the orders of his supreme commander; he must not consult his own inclinations. If an

officer were commanded to pull his own father out of this House, he must do it; he dares not disobey; immediate death would be the sure consequence of the least grumbling. And if an officer were sent into the Court of Requests, accompanied by a body of musketeers with screwed bayonets, and with orders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we were to vote, I know what would be the duty of this House; I know it would be our duty to order the officer to be taken and hanged up at the door of the lobby. But, sir, I doubt much if such a spirit could be found in the House, or in any House of Commons that will ever be in England.

Sir, I talk not of imaginary things. I talk of what has happened to an English House of Commons and from an English army; and not only from an English army, but an army that was raised by that very House of Commons, an army that was paid by them, and an army that was commanded by generals appointed by them. Therefore do not let us vainly imagine that an army raised and maintained by authority of Parliament will always be submissive to them. If an army be so numerous as to have it in their power to overawe the Parliament, they will be submissive as long as the Parliament does nothing to disoblige their favorite general; but when that case happens I am afraid that, in place of Parliament's dismissing the army, the army will dismiss the Parliament, as they have done heretofore. Nor does the legality or illegality of that Parliament, or of that army, alter the case. For with respect to that army, and according to their way of thinking, the Parliament dismissed by them was a legal Parliament; they were an army raised and maintained according to law; and at first they were raised, as they imagined, for the preservation of those liberties which they afterward destroyed.

It has been urged, sir, that whoever is for the Protestant succession must be for continuing the army: for that very reason, sir, I am against continuing the army. I know that neither the Protestant succession in his Majesty's most illustrious house, nor any succession, can ever be safe so long as there is a standing army in the country. Armies, sir, have no regard to hereditary successions. The first two Cæsars at Rome did pretty well, and found means to keep their armies in tolerable subjection, because the generals and officers were all their own creatures. But how did it fare with their successors? Was not every one of them named by the army, without any regard to hereditary right or to any right? A cobbler, a gardener, or any man who happened to raise himself in the army and could gain their affections, was made emperor of the world. Was not every succeeding emperor raised to the throne, or tumbled headlong into the dust, according to the mere whim or mad frenzy of the soldiers?

We are told this army is desired to be continued but for one year longer, or for a limited term of years How absurd is this distinction! Is there any army in the world continued for any term of years? Does the most absolute monarch tell his army that he is to continue them any number of years, or any number of months? How long have we already continued our army from year to year? And if it thus continues, wherein will it differ from the standing armies of those countries which have already submitted their necks to the yoke? We are now come to the Rubicon. Our army is now to be reduced, or never will. From his Majesty's own mouth we are assured of a profound tranquillity abroad, and we know there is one at home. If this is not a proper time, if these circumstances do not afford us a safe opportunity for reducing at least a part of our regular forces, we never can expect to

see any reduction. This nation, already overburdened with debts and taxes, must be loaded with the heavy charge of perpetually supporting a numerous standing army, and remain forever exposed to the danger of having its liberties and privileges trampled upon by any future king or ministry who shall take in their head to do so and shall take a proper care to model the army for that purpose.

END OF VOLUME FOUR.

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